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ABSTRACT

This volume contains a series of papers written for a symposium entitled "Adult Education and Allocation Policy in Sweden." Intended to provide a broader framework for analyzing allocation policy in adult education, the first paper is organized around the assumption that the effects of allocation policy both on participants and society are greatly determined by institutional roles defining who gets recruited to what kind of adult education and to what extent different programs and self-directed learning contribute to the creation of resources. Discussed next is the allocation policy in various Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden). The next paper, which examines recruitment in the context of allocation policy, focuses on the ways in which changes in the occupational structure over time can illustrate long-term effects of education. Also presented is a study of dropouts in municipal adult schools in the context of allocation policy. Finally, an analysis is made of the municipal adult education teaching process in the context of allocation policy. (MN)

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Studies in Education and Psychology 8

Robert Höghielm & Kjell Rubenson (Eds.)

Adult Education for Social Change

Research on the Swedish Allocation Policy

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INTRODUCTION

This volume contains a series of papers written for a symposium at the Adult Education Research Conference in Vancouver B.C. May 7-9, 1980, by members of the research group for Adult and Recurrent Education at the Stockholm Institute of Education. The title of the symposium was "Adult Education and Allocation Policy in Sweden".

Adult education in the Nordic countries has, in the 1960's and 70's, become an integrated part of these countries' economic and welfare policy. During this period the allocation goal has become the overwhelming goal of adult education. This goal is defined as equalization of certain resources (political, economic, cultural and social).

The principal purpose of this symposium was to indicate a theoretical framework for conducting research on adult education and allocation policy as defined above. Our intention has been to present a series of studies ranging from macro aspects (the influence of government policy) to micro aspects (the teaching process) of allocation policy.

The lack of and need for an established theoretical framework in adult education is becoming more and more obvious as adult education has come into the public zone. Knowledge production in the discipline has been bound to or reduced to phenomena concerning the acts of learning and cognition. One consequence of this perspective has been the lack of adequate conceptualization of the adult educational phenomena, which links explanation of economic, social and cultural factors in society to the explanation of the nature of method, content, techniques, devices and processes in adult education. Chapter one is intended to give a broader framework for analyzing allocation policy in adult education. Following the sound route set by Jensen (1964:105) an attempt is made to borrow and integrate theories developed in other disciplines than adult education. The interpretive framework is organized around the assumption that the effects of the allocation policy both on participants and society are greatly determined by the institutional rules defining (a) who gets recruited to what kind of adult education, and (b) to what extent the different programmes and self-directed learning contribute to the creation of resources (economic, cultural, social and political). The assumption here is that the inner functioning of adult education is linked to the external functions.

In chapter two the allocation policy in the various Nordic countries is discussed. The paper to be presented at AERC is based on data for the total area of adult education in the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden). The goals of adult education in each of these countries are analyzed with reference to conflicts and institutionalization of the allocation policy. In all of the countries one can find some steps taken in order to fulfill the allocation goal. Experiments with outreaching activities, study subsidies and special programmes for disadvantaged groups are some examples. The effects of these reforms as described in national evaluations are presented and discussed. The review shows that the anticipated effects were unrealistic in relation to the measures that were taken in order to achieve the allocation goal.

Chapters three to five present single empirical studies. These studies have double purposes. On one hand they are formed within the framework given above. On the other hand they are formed according to some specific problems and questions raised in the Swedish educational system. The studies have been financed by the National Board of Education.

An individual's occupation can presumably give a good picture of the person's economic, educational and social status. In chapter three it is shown how changes in the occupational structure over time can illustrate long-term effects of education. By occupational structure we mean here the composition of a specific group with regard to occupational status expressed according to Roe's (1962) classification system. The same procedure is used to describe the group which participated in some form of adult education in 1977 and which up to that time had changed its occupational structure. For instance, it can be noticed that the group which participated in adult education in 1977 (then 28 years old) has had, up to that time, a more favourable development of its occupational structure than the group that did not participate. Consequently, those who take part in adult education are those who, to a great extent, already have had a favourable development of their occupational structure.

This condition is not in agreement with the aim of the allocation policy in Sweden. The use of various forms of adult education by different social groups with regard to investment and consumption is discussed in light of (1) the cultural capital gained through upbringing and formal schooling and (2) their life situation as adults. Finally, a few research problems which have come to light in connection with this unique (at least for Sweden) data base are discussed.

With a reorientation in adult education policy in the 70's from the service political goal towards the allocation goal, there followed a shift of emphasis in that under-educated persons came to constitute the main target group not only in adult education in general but also in municipal adult education. This is the topic of chapter four where a study of drop-out in municipal adult education is presented. The change in policy formed the stating point for the GRUV project (Elementary School Studies for Adults) that has been undertaken in order to evaluate the benefits of adult education to persons with short-term formal education, the difficulties encountered by these students and the need for changes. One of the aims of this project was to illustrate the drop-out problem. 84 evening teaching groups in English, mathematics and Swedish included in the study were followed for the numbers of terms their courses lasted.

The data indicate that the selection at entry through the admission system has in municipal adult schools turned into a selection by failure. For the evening student in municipal adult education, the system has developed into what Clark (1960) has called a "cooling-out function"; i.e. students are not rejected in open competition with other students, but instead meet hidden and informal forces.

One conclusion drawn from the study is therefore that municipal adult education seems to operate in the same way as compulsory schooling as far as the sorting out of pupils is concerned. Drop-out appears to be the counterpart of disciplinary problems and poor marks in compulsory schooling.

Finally in chapter five the allocation policy is analized at the level of the teaching process. In order to map out and explain the teaching process, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected. The data collection consisted of an intensive and an extensive phase. Data was collected by classroom observation (240 lessons), tape recordings (30 lessons); questionnaires and interviews were used at various times with both participants and instructors. The extensive phase consisted of questionnaires to a representative sample of teachers and all principals of municipal adult education.

Analysis of the observations and recordings shows that the tools necessary to understanding cultural, political and social actions are not transmitted through municipal adult education. Looking at participant learning with regard to subject knowledge, communication skills and what the participant learns about his own

learning, we find very little in the instructional process that would result in strengthening the participant's responsibility or self-confidence. The data show that the results cannot be explained by lack of insight or understanding among the instructors. The micro-system creates such limitations that most of the instructors, despite various attitudes toward teaching, come to use much the same types of tactics.

For readers not familiar with the Swedish system of adult education an overview is given in appendix one.

Last but not least, we also want to express our gratitude to Leena Druck, who did the typing for her patience with the authors' eagerness to change their manuscripts.

Stockholm in October 1980

Robert Höghielm

Kjell Rubenson

BACKGROUND AND THEORETICAL CONTEXT

Kjell Rubenson

INTRODUCTION

In the seventies adult education has become a major topic for public policy in Sweden and is seen as one instrument, together with others such as the tax system, to redistribute cultural, economic, political and social resources. This article is intended to present a general theoretical context for analyzing the role adult education can play in promoting and redistributing these resources.

Adult education has gained prominence at a time when much of the optimism of the fifties and sixties with regard to education has been eroded. Today's deep-rooted pessimism concerning the role of education in promoting social mobility as well as economic, political and cultural development, reflects the limited outcomes of earlier reforms. This pessimism is also the result of the enormous and unrealistic expectations concerning what education could do, especially bearing in mind the resources that were allotted to it.

Today we are involved in lifelong education, whereof adult education is a cornerstone that is promoted as the panacea for all problems facing the educational system. What we object to is not the principle as such, but the lack of analysis of the prerequisites for creating and operating such a "system". In the absence of critical thinking most of the writings on lifelong education become naive and at best utopian. A useful starting point for developing a critical framework for policy in this area would be to draw upon the developments and changes that have taken place in the social sciences in general and in the sociology of education in particular over the last 20 years (see Karabel & Halsey, 1977 b, for an excellent overview of development).

Some of the advocates of a discipline of adult education would argue that as these theories are based on pre-adult education, they are not directly applicable to adult education (see e.g. Apps 1979:62). It is our view that the effect of adult education as an instrument to promote and redistribute resources (the

allocation policy) has to be seen in the context of the general role of education in society. This is especially crucial in the light of lifelong education, where equity has to be studied from a life cycle perspective. The question to be answered is, "What are the cumulative effects of education and learning, taking place in formal and nonformal instructional settings as well as in natural societal settings, on the distribution of resources in the population?"

Further, if research in adult education indicates that the predominant models of education in society are partly incorrect, then those models should be rejected or revised. However, the present models are so embedded in research from diverse aspects of education that it is difficult to foresee that the incorporation of adult education would lead to any major shifts, although some adjustments may be called for (cf. Hopper & Osborn, 1975:21f). One aspect that we currently find is not accounted for by traditional models is the role adult education plays as a channel for mobility through non-traditional routes such as trade unions, popular movements and other voluntary associations.

In Sweden, where there is a widespread tradition to base reforms on prior official inquiry, the changed status of adult education was followed by a sharp rise in the resources available for research and development (R&D). The status and direction of research in Sweden, as in the other Nordic countries, reflect the fact that adult education is an integral part of social and economic policy. As a result it is the problem, and not whether adult education could be seen as a distinct discipline or not, that has been the concern. In the USA, on the other hand, there has been, since the fifties, a concentrated effort among the professors of adult education to establish a discipline of adult education. Since Liveright it has been accepted practice in North America to refer to adult education as an emerging discipline (Liveright, 1964). This, in combination with a growth of studies, has led, to an increasing extent, to researchers who publish in Adult Education relying primarily on adult education literature (Boshier & Pickard, 1979). It is unfortunate that these research findings so often are neglected by Swedish researchers. However, North American research should not be accepted uncritically. In this article we shall scrutinize the so-called discipline of adult education, in order to see if it can contribute to a framework for analyzing Swedish allocation policy.

Our search for a theoretical context in which to analyze the allocation policy will start with a short interpretation of Swedish adult education policy. The aim is to describe and discuss the background objectives and premises of the Swedish policy for allocation and redistribution of resources, and call attention to goal conflicts and planning paradoxes, e.g., that a planning measure taken may lead to a result which is opposite to the one expected. We thus find Cohen and Garet's (1975:42) view that policy research resembles a discourse about social reality - a debate about social problems and their solutions - much more attractive than the notion that it is a first step toward establishing general laws of the kind found in the natural sciences.

ADULT EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN SWEDEN

The Government Bill (1967:85) on Adult Education formed the start of an extensive reform period that brought adult education into the major zone of public activity. Those familiar with Swedish adult education may find it somewhat odd that we set the date at 1967.

For over a hundred years, adult education has played a significant role in Swedish society. For example, to the leaders in the workers' movement, popular adult education, folk high schools and study-associations have come to function as a parallel system to the formal educational system, which in most European countries acted as a means of preparing political leaders. The absence of adult education policy in Sweden had to do with the independent standing of adult popular education in relation to official authority. In fact, popular adult education was looked upon neither as a form of education nor as a part of the official system of adult education.

The move of adult education into the public zone is reflected in changes in the central administration. As of 1968, state and treasury requirements placed state adult schools, municipal adult schools, and popular adult education under the heading "adult education". In addition, the Ministry of Education and the National Board of Education were reconstructed in order to establish divisions of adult education.

The 1967 Adult Education Bill

The overriding goals of education policy, as defined by the Government and Riksdag, are a declaration of political intent. One of the characteristics of these overriding goals is that they are vague and often contradictory. Thus the goals need to be interpreted and analyzed with reference to their values origins, consequences and conflicts (cf. Cohen and Garet, 1975).

The goals of adult education as prescribed in official documents can be characterized into four broad categories: equality, democracy, the economy and the satisfaction of individual preferences.

The major reform in the bill was the creation of a new form of adult education, "municipal adult schools" that offer instruction in accordance with the uniform national curricula for the lower and upper secondary school levels.

The introduction of municipal adult schools was closely linked to the far-reaching reforms in primary, secondary and higher education after World War II. The 1946 Schools Commission had already proposed that it would be beneficial for society as well as for the individual to create possibilities for adults with good study abilities to receive secondary education (SOU 1948:27, p. 341). This suggestion for secondary education for adults was taken up by the 1960 Commission on Secondary Education and the 1963 Commission on Vocational Education. We would conclude that the reforms of adult education had the same origin as reforms in primary and secondary education and were based on the values which embodied the government's ideology, or rather the social democratic party's ideology on education and society. No outside pressure groups had any major impact on the process that culminated in the 1967 bill.

In order to understand the policy and goals as stated in the bill we have to turn to the environment of education policy at that time. It should be pointed out that the following discussion is directly applicable only to the sector of adult education. Thus it is our understanding that the Swedish ideology of democracy and equal opportunity has been one of the cornerstones in the far reaching reforms that has taken place in the educational system since World War II but that these factors were of relatively less importance for the 1967 Adult Education Bill.

A general thesis in the fifties and sixties was that the radical technological change taking place raised considerable demands for educational investments to meet the need for well educated manpower. Further, at the beginning of the sixties economists pronounced the significance of education for economic development. Denison's analysis of development in the USA had shown that investment in education and research would be three times as profitable as investment in real capital (Denison, 1962). These research results gave more fuel to educational optimism.

Even if it is possible to demonstrate a certain complementarity between occupations usually requiring longer education and real capital the educational structure within the labour force probably gave rise to some concern. As a result of a very selective and hierarchically constructed education system, the proportion of graduates among the economically active in Sweden was only 2 per cent in 1960, a relatively low figure compared with other industrialized countries (Sohlman, 1976:117). In fact, Sweden had an occupational structure and a production/worker ratio more reminiscent of the USA's than of Portugal's, while the supply of highly educated manpower was closer to Portugal's than the USA's.

The idea of giving adults without upper secondary school education the opportunity of gaining a higher education was given more nourishment by the studies of the "reserve of talent" carried out in Sweden in the fifties (see Härnqvist, 1958). The primary aim of these studies was to provide a foundation for changing and broadening the narrow intake to upper secondary school education. However, the studies were also of decisive importance for the reforms carried out in the sixties with the aim of giving adults increasing opportunities of studying at the upper secondary and post-secondary levels. To sum up, we are suggesting that the environment in which the reform in adult education was initiated can be illustrated as in Fig. 1.

Fig. 1. suggests that the formulation of policy on adult education could be explained to a great extent by attempts of the educational system to close the gap between the existing intellectual resources in the country and those in demand, due to the expected changes in the economy.

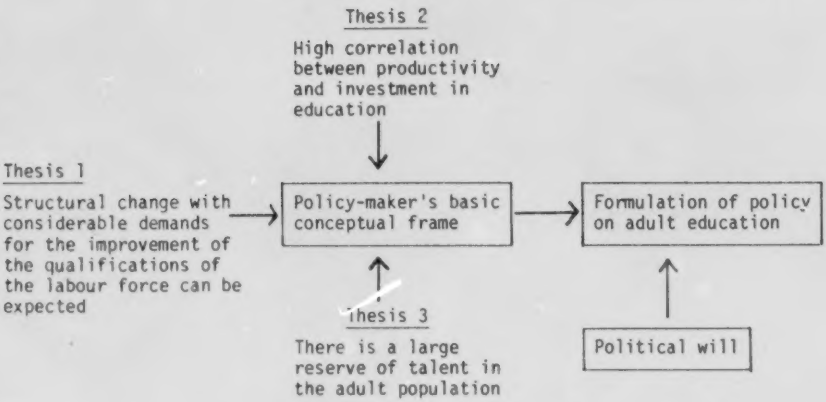

Thesis 2
High correlation between productivity and investment in education
Thesis 1
Structural change with considerable demands for the improvement of the qualifications of the labour force can be expected
Policy-maker's basic conceptual frame
Formulation of policy on adult education
Thesis 3
There is a large reserve of talent in the adult population
Political will

Figure 1. Social and economic conditions for policy on adult education in the sixties.

Reverting to the four categories of goals, we would conclude that the economic goals and goals of service policy (relating to the satisfaction of individual preferences) goals predominated in the 1967 reform. That is not to say that equality was out of the picture. The reform gave talented adults a second chance to acquire the education they had been denied due to a selective and hierarchical educational system. Furthermore, there was a general belief that economic growth was going to create resources that could be distributed in such a way that the differences in society would decrease. Responding to the claims for adult education among the "intellectual reserve" could thus be expected to have indirect redistribution effects. In short, the 1967 reform was an offspring of the "romantic period", when education not only was assumed to generate directly economic growth, but also to accomplish miracles in other levels of society.

Towards an Allocation Policy in Adult Education

Bill 1970:35 signified a change in values in adult education and precipitated new discussion on reallocation. No longer is the "intellectual reserve" the point, the undereducated and the underprivileged become the focus. How is this change to be explained? If the 1967 Bill was to be understood as a response to perceived changes in the economy, then the answer to the change in values lies in the polity.

During the sixties the Swedish economy showed rapid growth, giving companies a high net profit. Despite the steady growth in the economy, there was an emerging awareness that the distribution of resources in Swedish society did not become more equally distributed. The Swedish survey of living standard revealed the vast differences that still existed between different socio-economic groups (cf. Johansson, 1970, 1973). As a result we can see a radicalization taking place in the trade unions. This expressed itself in far-reaching demands for industrial democracy, involving a share of the capital stock and a general reallocation of resources in society. Briefly, it should be mentioned that the trade union demands resulted in major reforms in the Swedish labour market in the mid-seventies.

The unions' philosophy on allocation policy was not limited to reforms in the labour market, but also included adult education. In 1969 the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions (SCTU) published their first report on adult education, which demanded allocation reforms in adult education. In addition, SCTU, together with the Workers' Educational Association (ABF), wrote to the Government asking for immediate action in carrying out experiments aimed at reaching the educationally disadvantaged. SCTU and ABF's demands are reflected in the 1970 Bill which indicates the turning point in policy on adult education.

In the period following 1970, the allocation policy (equity and democracy) became more and more articulated and reached its climax with the 1975:23 Adult Education Bill, in which it is the dominant goal. The goal of individual preferences has steadily diminished in importance compared to the goal of equality. The more subordinate role allotted to the economic objective in policy documents for adult education can, according to Broström and Ekeroth (1977:87), be ascribed to its more direct relation lately to labour market policy, e.g., v - labour market training. With reference to Fig. 1., it is also worth pointing out that the opening up of secondary and higher education in Sweden had created a vast increase in skilled labour. This, in combination with a growing distrust in the human capital theory, is also a part of the explanation as to why the economic goal has come to play a more subordinate role in official documents.

Interpretation of the Allocation Goal

Broström and Ekeroth (1977:91) interpret the adult education policy as being aimed at an equalization of living conditions through a redistribution of

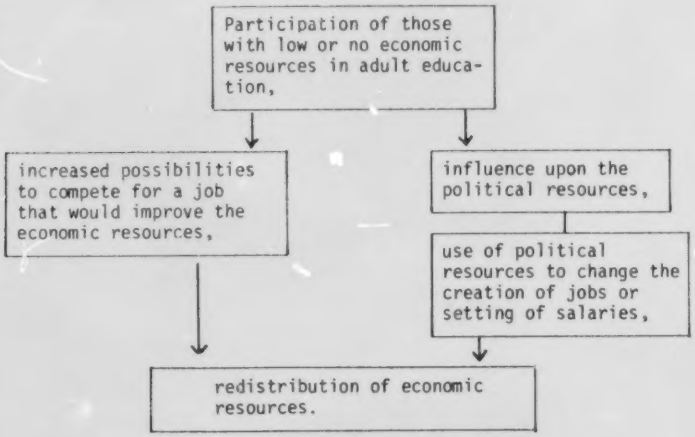
cultural, economic, political and social resources. Their definition of the concept "resource" comes from "The Swedish Survey of Living Standard" and reads:

> *"The individual's disposition of resources in money, possessions, knowledge, skills, physical and psychological energy, social relations, confidence, etc., with the help of which the individual can control and consciously command his life situation."* (Johansson, 1970:25)

The definition does not depart from a consumption or need perspective, but assumes an active individual, in a marxist sense, that can influence and command his life situation.

Broström and Ekeroth's review and interpretation of the Swedish Bills on adult education (Broström and Ekeroth 1977:96-112) show that adult education should contribute to a redistribution of resources in the following ways:

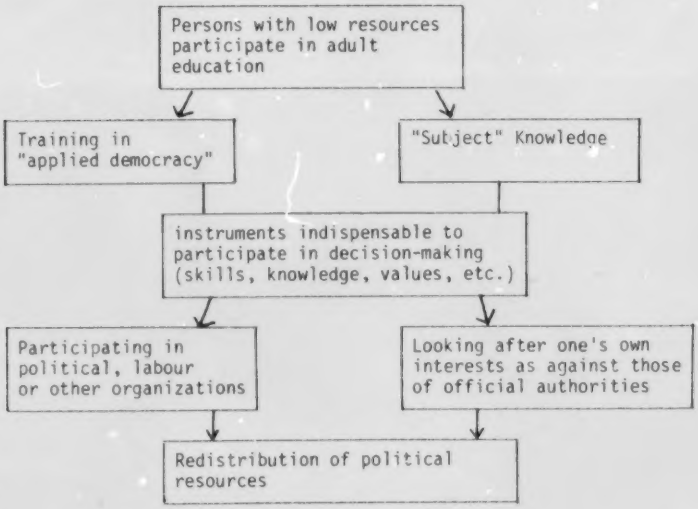
Greater equality has in the educational debate often been seen as economic equality. The supposed effect of adult education on economic equity is both direct and indirect and can be illustrated in the following ways:


Participation of those with low or no economic resources in adult education,
increased possibilities to compete for a job that would improve the economic resources,
influence upon the political resources,
use of political resources to change the creation of jobs or setting of salaries,
redistribution of economic resources.

Adult education functions as an instrument for redistribution both in a direct and indirect way. Adults with a low income or none at all are supposed to be able to

improve their situation by participating in adult education, if in no other way than that of being able to compete for those jobs available. The indirect effect of adult education on economic resources has to do with the redistribution of political resources and the use of these resources. Economic equity can thus come about by changing the way of setting salaries, e.g., through a strengthened labour union. It should be mentioned here that the tax system is a very important instrument in the overall allocation policy in Sweden.

The role of adult education in promoting a democratic society is often emphasized (see, e.g., SOU 1946:68). The contribution of adult education to democracy is treated under the heading of political resources. The anticipated relationship between adult education and political resources could be illustrated as follows:

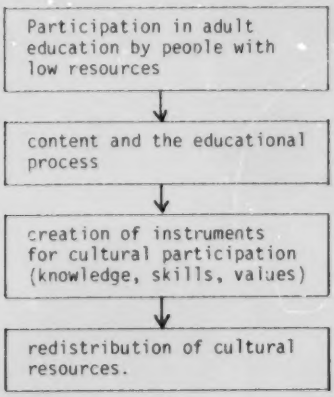

Persons with low resources participate in adult education
Training in "applied democracy"
"Subject" Knowledge
instruments indispensable to participate in decision-making (skills, knowledge, values, etc.)
Participating in political, labour or other organizations
Looking after one's own interests as against those of official authorities
Redistribution of political resources

The adult educational process, regardless of the content, is seen in itself to provide possibilities for training in applied democracy. This would lead to the establishment of "instruments" that would prepare the individual to participate a) politically, through political parties, trade unions or other organizations, or b) individually, e.g., through looking after his own interests vis à vis official authorities.

Another important function is tnat the studies could provide the knowledge and the interest for social issues that are needed for taking part in political participation, either as an individual or in a collective.

The impact of science and technology has broken up the traditional social network created for coping with social problems. Especially in the big cities, people are isolated and lack social contacts outside the family circle. Material, emotional and other help that used to be provided by the social network now has to come from social and other authorities. Adult education is supposed to be instrumental in creating such a social network. This is done through creating social contacts among the participants, and partly by creating political resources which could be used to strengthen the network.

Participation in cultural activities is seen as a possibility for the adult to obtain a richer and fuller life. Through adult education the individual should acquire the indispensable instruments (e.g., skills, knowledge and attitudes) for availing himself of the cultural amenities.


Participation in adult education by people with low resources
content and the educational process
creation of instruments for cultural participation (knowledge, skills, values)
redistribution of cultural resources.

Self-realization or personal fulfillment is often put forward as the major goal of adult education (e.g. Paterson, 1971). The four resource-components do not address this goal directly. However, they could be seen as necessary conditions for a full and rich life.

So far, we have tried to exemplify how adult education is supposed to be an instrument in the redistribution of economic, political, social and cultural resources. In order to fulfill the allocation policy, the following two conditions must be met:

1. People with low resources have to be recruited to adult education, and
2. by participation in this activity they should be able to acquire resources.

We must ask under what conditions (with regard to society, educational measurements and the individual) adult education can be instrumental in creating and redistributing resources. Our search for an answer will start by examining the so-called discipline of adult education.

THE DISCIPLINE OF ADULT EDUCATION

In order to understand knowledge production in the discipline we have to be aware of the dominant role that, until very recently, North America has played in adult education research. At a time when there hardly existed any research in most other countries, the commission of professors of adult education in the USA worked toward what they saw as a discipline, defined as "a branch of knowledge involving research." The discipline grew out of the movement toward professionalization and institutionalization marked by an expansion of programs in adult education. The focus for the commission of professors was not research as such, but the development of a profession. In the preface to their report, Adult Education - Outlines of an Emerging Field of University Study, they state:

> *"This book had to be written; not because the world needed it, but because the university professor of adult education needed to write it..... The editors hope that the book will be of value: to professors of adult education as they develop their programs of graduate studies; to other members of education faculties by indicating the character and scope of adult education as an area of graduate study; to potential graduate students in adult education as it represents the current thinking of the leaders regarding the conceptual foundations of the field; and to all persons active in various aspects of adult and continuing education by suggesting the range and variety of insights, understandings and relationships involved in operating in their chosen field. A further hope is that within all of these groups the book will stimulate the growing and ever-widening discourse and dialogue about the essential kinds of knowledge and practice which are essential to a thoughtful and effective adult educator."* (Jensen et al., 1964: xiii).

Adult education is characterized as a practical and normative discipline, in which the purpose of research is to evolve programs which have the most likelihood of promoting such learning situations in which behaviour changes may best be brought about (Liveright, 1964:90). The stress on practicality and the needs of the field have, no doubt, determined which problems have been selected as legitimate for research (Rubenson, in press). With reference to the somewhat hazy concept of R & D, we would say that research in the discipline has mostly been of the "D-Kind" (development). Practice-oriented research aimed at solving an actual issue is not intrinsically negative.

The heart of the matter is the lack of balance between practice-oriented research and discipline-oriented research, where the purpose is to develop and test theories and lay the necessary foundations for applied research.

Due to the lack of an intradisciplinary orientation, practice-oriented research has become almost totally atheoretical. The main difference between the practice-oriented and discipline-oriented research ought not to be the extent to which they are theoretical, but rather that the former should primarily be directed to answer questions from outside the discipline and the latter to deal with problems originating from within the discipline. Thus there are two interrelated problems facing adult education: the balance between practice- and discipline-oriented research, and the atheoretical approach of applied research.

Adult education is considered a normative discipline, in that it is concerned with deliberate attempts to help adults develop in certain ways (Verner, 1978:43). There is no doubt that adult education as a distinctive social activity is normative as it involves primordial value judgments (Paterson, 1971). However, we have to remember that education systems are designed to serve, not only an inner function, the achievement of educational and instructional goals, but also an external function, e.g., socialization and legitimization. As value judgments rarely take into account the relationship between the internal and external functions, they cannot be used as a base for developing adult education theory. Instead, such a theory must depart from the educational process as it exists in reality and not from what someone thinks it ought to be (cf. Lundgren, 1979:20).

The neglect of the adult education process as it exists in reality and the narrow focus on psychological aspects have resulted in an inadequate conceptuali-

zation of adult education phenomena. As most of the research training is done in departments that deal primarily with the education of instructors, the lack of a macro perspective is quite understandable. The outcome, however, will be that the researcher at best will only be familiar with those theories developed to explain individual behaviour.

Faced with a problem closely related to social change, the researcher comes to rely on these tools. However, these theories are not intended to explain collective behaviour such as educational reform. Useful theories on the nature of such events will have to address themselves to such questions as when, how and for whom collective decisions are made (Merritt & Coombs, 1976:260).

The lack of concern for how the economical, political and cultural structure in society influence adult education is reflected in the North American debate on the future of adult education (e.g. Cotton, 1963). Reading the debate, one gets a picture of the adult educator with a firm grip on the rudder keeping the vessel on the right course. However, no one seems to ask where the wind and waves are coming from. Instead the adult educator becomes the hub around which the discussion on adult education and social change circulates.

In the introduction to his book Comparative Aspects on Education, Havighurst suggests that a good way to study education comparatively is to examine the educational response made by various societies to their social problems (Havighurst, 1964:XV). It goes without saying that the point of departure for this kind of exercise would not be the opinions of the teachers as a professional group (that this might be one aspect of interest is another thing). Nor should the adult educators be the point of departure for analyzing the role of adult education in society.

We can pursue the analogies to comparative education a bit further since it can be helpful in understanding the state of the art in adult education. The study of comparative education tends to focus upon two central problems: how do educational systems contribute to social, political and economic development and how do social and economic growth lead to the creation of modern educational institutions (Bock, 1976:346). The almost total absence of work dealing with adult education in the comparative research literature (see e.g. Koehl, 1977) reflects the fact that until recently adult education seldom was used as a public response

by society to their social problems. However, due to changes in other institutions, economy and polity, and demographic changes which force the institutions to look for new clientele, adult education is on the way to shedding its marginal role and come into the forefront of public interest. This is especially true in many of the Third World countries, where adult education is seen as a central component in the construction of a new educational system (e.g. Nyerere, 1976; Mohi El-Dine Saber, 1977). The changing role of adult education in society spotlights the current state of the discipline.

Due to the fact that the territory of adult education has been defined mainly from assumptions about the characteristics of the learner, the knowledge production in the discipline of adult education is ill-equipped to serve as a framework for looking at questions that range from macro to micro aspects, as is the case with Swedish allocation policy in adult education.

This conclusion brings us to one of the "hot questions" among adult education researchers - the borrowing of knowledge and concepts from other disciplines.

Borrowing from Other Disciplines

Among advocates for a discipline of adult education, there is a strong belief that not only is borrowing of little value for adult education, but it is also damaging.

Boyd and Apps (1980 in print) argue that it would be an error to seek assistance from recognized disciplines before the field of adult education itself is clearly understood. Their arguments should be carefully examined because of the consequences they have for the training of graduate students in adult education - the next generation of researchers. The authors present four, what they call erroneous assumptions that may be accepted when borrowing from established disciplines to define problems in adult education:

1. Concepts from other disciplines can be applied directly to adult education without specifying situational variables;
2. Concepts can stand by themselves;
3. Concepts can be mixed;
4. Other disciplines can define adult education.

The basic problem that Boyd and Apps indicate in points 1 to 3 is not specific to adult education, but is of a general epistemological nature. Their claim that adult education researchers have blindly borrowed and misused concepts developed by other disciplines is to a large extent true. However, the problem is not restricted to borrowing between disciplines, but appears also with borrowing within a discipline. The underlying issue is that of mixing concepts and theories from different and contradictory research traditions.

The research tradition provides a set of guidelines for the development of specific theories. Part of those guidelines constitute an ontology which specifies, in a general way, the types of fundamental entities that are legitimate for any theory inside the research tradition in question. A research tradition will also specify certain modes of procedures which constitute the legitimate methods of inquiry open to researchers within that tradition. "Put simplistically, a research tradition is thus a set of ontological and methodological 'do's and don'ts' (Laudan, 1977:30).

We fully agree with Boyd and Apps that it is important to look at the phenomena in their context. Nor is this a problem restricted to the relation between disciplines. Furthermore, it could very well be that the context is better understood by using knowledge from another discipline than to stay inside one's own discipline. Our discussion, for example, on how social and educational change has been conceptualized by adult education researchers could be taken as one example of this.

The heart of the matter seems to be the fear that by borrowing concepts from other disciplines, those disciplines will come to define adult education. We are having some difficulties in understanding this line of argument. If there is any reason at all to be afraid, it would be that other disciplines because of their better tools will take over the research that is now done by researchers in adult education. As adult education becomes a central topic for public policy, researchers from other disciplines will no doubt get interested in the phenomenon.

Our standpoint does not imply that the discipline of adult education is merely the accumulation of knowledge produced in other disciplines. On the contrary, there is a need to build a discipline of adult education based on specific and tested knowledge. However, like Alanen (1978) we believe that there exists some-

thing which could be called a general theory of education and that both pedagogy and adult education rest on this common base. Thus most common principles on the relationship of social structure and social change to education are the same for adult and pre-adult education.

According to Boyd and Apps, once the structure, the function, the problem and the purposes of adult education are clearly understood, it would be appropriate to seek assistance from other disciplines in solving problems and answering questions. On the contrary, it is in the effort to understand the structure, the function and the problem of adult education that we need the help from other disciplines and what we here have called general theory of education.

We shall thus turn to what could be called general theory of education.

GENERAL THEORY OF EDUCATION

Our starting point is the change in the research literature from the romantic fifties and sixties to the cynical seventies.

In the pre-World War II era, social scientists and politicians alike came to look upon education as the "élan vital" of economic life, the panacea to population growth and the great leveller of social inequities (Adams, 1977:298). The obvious policy for both poor and rich nations was to provide a larger period of compulsory education and to expand the enrollments at the secondary and third levels in order to maximize the educational influence. In some countries ability-grouped classes were abolished in favour of the comprehensive school.

By the late 1960's and early 1970's skepticism and disillusionment concerning education had become widespread. Investment in education had not generated the expected economic growth and worse, there was a realization that more and more schooling did not necessarily solve equalization of access to available goods and services of society.

The equalization of life chances by the expansion of the formal educational system has been prevented by two simultaneously occurring and interrelated processes: institutional differentiation and tracking (cf. Neelsen, 1975). Institutional differentiation refers to the process whereby at the time that

the lower strata improved upon their proportional share in educational institutions of the post-primary level, the upper strata turned to still higher educational institutions or qualitatively better ones. The expansion of higher education was further followed by a strong class-based tracking within the system (cf. Gesser, 1971, Halsey et al. 1980). Those from the upper social classes followed programs with the best "pay-off" in the form of income, status, occupation, political efficacy and etc.

Disillusionment concerning education as an instrument to promote social change has forced the social scientists to reconsider the theoretical frameworks in which they have been working. If in one sentence we had to summarize the critique towards the research conducted in the expansionist mode of the fifties and sixties it would be that the phenomenon under study has been wrongly conceptualized. Regardless of where on the micro-macro dimension the event is located this seems to be the issue.

In this paper we shall deal briefly with three aspects of the critique: (1) consensus versus conflict paradigm, (2) internal-external functions of education, the economistic standpoint and (3) the internal-external functions of education: the interpretative standpoint.

Consensus versus conflict

Merritt and Coombs (1977:248) argue that the biggest stumbling block that has been removed was the once prevailing notion that education and educational reform didn't have much to do with politics and social structure.

With the innocence lost, the adequacy of the predominant theoretical framework on social and educational change, the structural functional, was questioned because it underestimates the importance of conflict and ideology.

According to the S/F view, changes in the educational system are the result of interaction between society and the schools and follows in some five steps: 1. a need arises in society; 2. the educational system is assigned the task of meeting the need; 3. change in the educational structure takes place to accommodate the new function; 4. the new role is assumed by schools and 5. talent and manifest changes take place in society as a consequence of the new educational functions (Paulston, 1976:14).

The S/F theorists have focused on the homeostatic or balancing mechanism by which society maintains a "uniform state". The framework assumes a high degree of normative consensus across social systems. For functionalists, inequality in society thus does not arise out of the vested interest of single individuals or groups. Instead, functionalists argue, inequality is not only inevitable, but necessary and beneficial to all, since individual survival is contingent on the survival and wellbeing of society (Lenski, 1966 referred in Paulston, 1976). In contrast to the functionalist view, theories departing from the conflict paradigm are based on the assumption, that whenever there is social life there is conflict. Because of a scarcity of goal-satisfying values as well as the means to reach them, the attainment of a particular goal by an element (individual, group, or institution) hinders the chances of achievement on the part of other elements (Sztompka, 1974:88).

The fact that S/F analysis almost always has been based on the assumption of consensus does not necessarily mean that this and other values associated with this theory are inevitable properties of the functionalist frame of reference (cf. Sztompka, 1974:67).

The conflict paradigm is accompanied with a shift towards constructs such as power, ideologies, self and group interests, allocation-legitimation and further the relationship between the internal and external functions of education comes into focus.

Internal-external functions of education: the economistic position

That schools affect and are affected by their social context is of course a truism that needs to be specified. The most common assumption, embodied for example, in the S/F framework and the consonant theory of human capital, is that education exerts its effect upon society through the direct socialization of individuals to exhibit those competencies, attitudes and values crucial to the development and maintenance of modern institutions (Bock, 1976:352).

This assumption has been questioned as the school effects are smaller than the individual socialization model requires (cf. Meyer & Rubinson, 1975). Due to the doubt about the adequacy of the individual socialization theory some social scientists have begun to think more in terms of allocation and legitimation. The underlying assumptions is that the educational system helps to define which

people may legitimately play which roles in society, quite apart from whether the students are actually effectively trained or socialized. Those representing this view maintain that it is possible to show that the educated, e.g., possess greater political, social, cultural and economic efficacy without concluding that these traits were learned in school. Thus the individuals may learn the values and competencies appropriate to the performance of the role allocated to them by right of the schooling they have recieved after they have assumed the role (Bock, 1976:353 f). By ostensibly providing an open and objective mechanism for assigning individuals to unequal economic positions, the educational system legitimates inequalities (Bowles & Gintis, 1976:103).

The legitimation and allocation model is not seen as an alternative to socialization theory, but rather as a supplement that explains the process more precisely. With this framework, however, the schooling process itself becomes of secondary interest.

This is also the case in Bowles' and Gintis famous work Schooling in Capitalist America, in which the schools are seen as wholly determined by the economic forces outside them. The educational system is viewed as an integral element in the reproduction of the prevailing class structure of society. The educational system integrates the pupils into the economic system through a structural correspondence between its social relationship and those of production (Bowles & Gintis, 1976:131). According to the author, the structure of social relations in education not only insures the student to the discipline of the work place but develops the types of personal demeanor, modes of self-presentation, self-image and social-class identification which are the crucial ingredients of job adequacy.

The "correspondence principle" as well as the economistic position in general have been criticized for treating the school simply as a black box which reflects the economic forces outside of it and thus misses the dynamics of what the interpretalists have come to call "cultural reproduction" (see Apple, 1978, Zacharias, 1979).

Internal-external functions of education: the interpretative standpoint

Macrosociological approaches (mobility, selection, reproduction of the social division of labour) were not sufficient to explain the failure of comprehensive

schools to reduce educational inequality because they largely ignored the educational process. With the rise of the so-called "New Sociology," the search for an understanding of the relationship between internal and external functions shifted to the educational process.

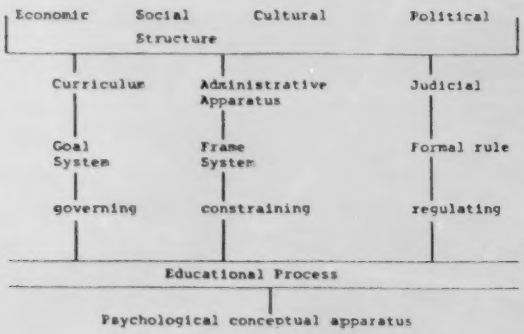
The S/F view of socialization is criticized because it treats the curriculum as a unified and coherent mechanism in a consensus world (Eggleston, 1977:18). Thus, the functionalist framework is based upon the implicit assumption that the pedagogic actions carried out by families from different social classes, as well as those which are practised by schools, work together in a harmonious way to transmit a cultural heritage which is considered as being the individual property of the entire society (Bourdieu, 1977:488). Instead, maintain the "new sociologists": the structure of knowledge and symbols in educational institutions is closer to the dominant culture and therefore intimately related to the principles and practices of social and cultural control in society (Apple, 1978). The purpose of research is to explore the ways in which a society selects, classifies, transmits and evaluates its public knowledge (Bernstein, 1971).

In all these matters the school curriculum takes on major responsibilities. The important point here is, as Eggleston (1977:11) has noted, that through the curricula the school has an unavoidable relationship with the wider society, that the normative and power systems of the schools are not only part of the micro system of the school but also of the macro system of all of society. The value system in society is thus reflected in the everyday practice inside the school.

One fruitful attempt to link daily practice in the school with factors outside the teaching process is the frame factor theory proposed by Dahllöf (1971) and further developed by Lundgren (1972, 1977). Their work, which has its roots not in sociology but in education, reveals the limitation of using theory on learning as a starting point for studying the teaching process. Contextual factors (called frame factors) such as the subject matter, groups of participants, institutional customs and policies, and social structure of the institution are shown to govern and restrict the conditions for the educational settings.

According to Lundgren (1979) the political process influences the teaching situation through its impact on curriculum, the administrative apparatus, school laws and school legislation. In turn then, the curriculum, the administrative apparatus

and the laws of the school are supposed to reflect the economic, social and political structure of the society in the following way (after Lundgren 1979:25).



While the economistic-oriented models have been criticized for neglecting the educational process, the "new sociologists" and the interpretative standpoint in general are accused of ignoring material and structural determinants (see e.g. Halsey & Karabel, 1977 a:49).

The critique on the one hand against the economistic position for being too deterministic and overlooking the acting subject and on the other hand against the interpretative view for reducing the material and structural circumstances to symbolic context is a reflection of the classical dilemma in the social sciences of how to relate the macro and micro processes, said differently - the holistic and the individualistic approach. It is easy to call for an integration between the structural and intergrationist approaches and to warn against a false fragmentation and dichotomization, but quite another thing to overbridge the seemingly incompatible ontological and epistemological assumptions related to the two research traditions. Suffice is to state that an adequate theoretical perspective must be able to take into account human coherency and the creative power of individuals in acting in and transforming the world - and the relationship between conscious activity and objective reality (Goldman, 1969).

The efforts to connect macro and micro processes often derive from a situation in which the researcher has been distressed, as the original theoretical framework was inadequate to solve the problem under study. Some "classroom researchers" who

have started from a theoretical perspective restricted to the teaching process and/or the educational system have, in their attempt to reach an understanding, moved toward integrating societal aspects into the theoretical framework (see e.g. Lundgren, 1977; Sharp & Green, 1975). This has been done by making some assumptions about how the societal aspects are reflected in the educational system and the teaching process (see Lundgren's chart on p. 21).

In order to direct study, the mechanism by which cultural, economic, political and social structures are reproduced within the educational system requires a quite different approach than when the task is merely to study the teaching process. It is our opinion that this has to be done through a comparative approach, either historically or cross countries. To expect that one and the same researcher or even research group should be able to cover both aspects empirically, is unrealistic. The best one can ask for is an awareness of research in the two areas and a willingness to use this knowledge when formulating the assumptions regarding the level that is not covered.

Conclusion

In the earlier section "Interpretation of the Allocation Policy", we presented the official view on how adult education is suggested to contribute to the promotion and redistribution of resources. The discussion ended by asking under what conditions adult education could be a successful instrument in the allocation policy. Due to the weakness of the so-called discipline of adult education, we turned to "the general theory" of education, in order to seek a framework for answering this question. We shall now summarize this brief review by presenting a simple paradigm (Fig. 2) that indicates the rules through which the educational system transmits and promotes cultural, political, economic and social resources.

We make no assumption about consensus. On the contrary, it is assumed that the educational system intentionally or unintentionally will reflect self and group interests.

It is argued that the educational system affects the individual's resources, not only by the way it trains and socializes him, but also by the way in which the educational institutions define the roles in the social and cultural hierarchy that he may legitimately play.

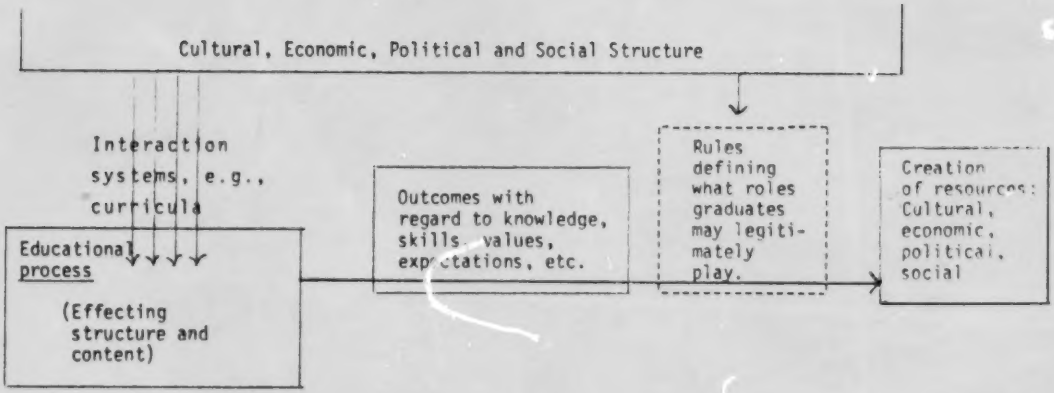

Cultural, Economic, Political and Social Structure
Interaction systems, e.g., curricula
Educational process
(Effecting structure and content)
Outcomes with regard to knowledge, skills, values, expectations, etc.
Rules defining what roles graduates may legitimately play.
Creation of resources: Cultural, economic, political, social

Figure 2. The relationship between society, educational system and the creation of individual resources.

Thus, the political, economic and cultural structures influence the creation of individual resources in two different but related ways. The first and most obvious way is through the so-called interchange systems, e.g. curricula which link the wider society with the everyday practice in school. Here we are relying primarily on the Dahllöf-Lundgren frame factor theory.

However, the educational system also operates on resources in a more indirect way by allocating individuals to their future roles. The resources the person will come to control due to the allocated role thus can be seen as quite separate from the kind of socialization that has taken place. This is not to deny that the pupils may be socialized to these competencies while they are still in school in anticipation of the role the school "charter" is believed to entitle them in the future (cf. Bock, 1976:354). In the paradigm this is indicated by placing a kind of filter between the outcome of the educational process and the resulting resources. For example, it would be possible for two persons who have participated in two different forms of education to acquire the same "human capital" yet possess quite different resources due to the rules that define what the "graduates" legitimately may do.

THE APPLICABILITY OF GENERAL THEORY FOR ADULT EDUCATION

General Comments

So far we have briefly outlined some key elements in a framework for doing research on allocation policy in adult education. However, there is an obvious weakness with a paradigm based solely on general theory. Although the most common principles bearing on the relationship of social structure and social change to education hold equally true for pre-adult and adult education, general theory is developed without actual data on adult education (cf. Alanen, 1978).

While the links between the wider society and pre-adult education take on a rather "easily" definable character (see the Lundgren chart), the ties with adult education are diffuse and less clear. This is a reflection of the different roles of pre-adult and adult education in society.

A key assumption in general theory presented there is that education has external effects on society and that the inner functions of schooling are linked to the

external functions. The fact that there exist wide differences about what these external functions are and the character of the linkage mechanism is irrelevant to the point we want to make. Thus the main difference between adult education and pre-adult education is that the former in some cases may have only an inner function. This is the case when the education fulfills only the role of, e.g. cultural consumption, more or less in the same way as does a visit to a museum. This distinction is different, although somewhat related to the common notion that the major distinction between pre-adult and adult education is that the former prepares the students for future life tasks while adult education is a response to immediate needs. This discrimination, relevant as it is, misses the point that the fulfillment of some of these needs is linked to the external function of education, e.g. the labour market's need for qualification.

We said earlier that allocation policy rests on two assumptions: that persons with low resources can be recruited and that the educational process will create resources. The paradigm addresses itself to both aspects. It deals directly with the question of production of resources and indirectly with recruitment. Thus participation has to be understood in the perspective of the cumulative effects of the pre-adult educational system on recruitment to adult education. Thus, instead of just concentrating on the differences between pre-adult and adult education and treating them as two completely separate systems, participation in adult education should be seen in the context of the role pre-adult education is awarded in society. It is puzzling that adult educators can so fully embrace the principle of lifelong-education and yet still treat adult education as a system in splendid isolation. Our discussion on applicability will depart from the holistic view of education that has been advocated and be organized around the constructs of socializations and allocation.

Socialization

It is obvious that adult education has played a limited role with regard to socialization. However, we will adopt the view that cultural and social transmission include not only the transmission of tradition from one generation to the next, but also the transmission of knowledge or cultural and social patterns from anybody who "knows" to anyone who does not (Singleton, 1974:28). Socialization should thus be thought of as a lifelong process, in which the individual, through interaction with the surrounding world, obtains his identity.

There are three things a person requires before he is able to perform satisfactorily in a role (Brim, 1966). He must know what is expected of him (both with regard to behaviour and values); he must be able to meet the role requirements; and he must desire to practise the behaviour and pursue the appropriate ends. Departing from these three elements the author establishes the following cross-classification in order to analyze changes in the content of socialization through the life cycle (Brim, 1966:65).

	Behaviour	Values
Knowledge	A	B
Ability	C	D
Motivation	E	F

Cells A and B indicate respectively that the individual knows what behaviour is expected of him and what ends he should pursue. Cells E and F indicate that the individual is motivated to behave in appropriate ways to pursue the designated values. Cells C and D indicate that the individual is able to carry out the behaviour and to hold appropriate values.

According to Brim, the most important changes from childhood to adult socialization are the shifts in emphasis from motivation to ability and knowledge and from concern with values to a concern with behaviour. Society assumes that the adult knows the values to be pursued in different roles, that he wants to pursue them with the socially appropriate means, and that all that remains to be done is to teach him what to do. That this interpretation of adult socialization governs the perceived functions of adult education is reflected in the following quotation from Verner (1964:88):

> *"For purposes of adult education, at least, we can say, therefore, that an adult is a person who has come into that state of life in which he has assumed responsibility for himself and usually for others, and who has concomitantly accepted a functionally productive role in his community.....*
>
> *This distinction defines the character of adult education, sets the boundaries for research into the changing patterns of responsibility in adult life, and identifies the corresponding functions which adult education should perform. An important problem for research is to formulate learning objectives which are functionally related to the emerging tasks that create the need for learning and provide the motivation for participation in adult education."*

Before going into a more detailed analysis of the cells in Brim's scheme, we want to point out that the role of adult education varies from country to country, depending on historical, economic, political and cultural factors.

Societies that historically are in a revolutionary phase take quite a different view on adult socialization from the one proposed by Brim and reflected in Verner's writing. Consequently, adult education is often not only consciously used but also described as an instrument for transmitting new values and effecting motivation. Where the intention is to break down an old society and to build a new, morality becomes one of the primary learning priorities (cf. Paulston, 1972). The emphasis on basic values and general socialization comes out very clearly in, for example, documents on adult education from the East European countries. Skalka (1977:79) states: "It is in the very system of lifelong communist education that adult education fulfills its significant irreplaceable function." He further notes that "it raises the qualifications of the working people, contributes to the formation of their ideological, political, specialist and cultural level and of the socialist way of life." In these countries political education belongs among the broadest branches of adult education (cf. Fukasz, 1978:11).

The transmission of values through adult education is also very clear in many Third World countries, where the primary concern is the destruction of an earlier colonial system and the creation of a new system. Thus the mass literary campaigns often have strong ideological roots, as is the case in Algeria, Cuba, Tanzania and Vietnam.

Countries like Canada, Sweden and the U.S.A., which are in a conservative phase, are not concerned with general re-socialization. Consequently, adult education is seldom looked upon or referred to as an instrument for influencing basic values. The exception occurs when adult education has a marked component of re-socialization as in, for example, the education of immigrants. As a contrast to the situation in the U.S.A. today, at around 1920 "Americanization" - the main activity of the public evening schools - dominated the scene to the extent that adult education became synonymous with Americanization (Knowles, 1977:56).

The rest of the discussion on the applicability of the construct "socialization" will be structured around "knowledge", "ability" and "motivation" according to Brim's scheme.

Knowledge and Ability

The more pronounced role that adult education has been awarded in the process of lifelong socialization is related to the rapid scientific and technological changes. To some extent, today's situation has some similarities with what occurred some hundred years ago when due to the diversified labour market, the traditional institutions for socialization (family, church and community) needed to be complemented by a new institution - education. Due to changes in the economy, the structure of the education system is beginning to be questioned and a reorganization of the educational system after the principle of lifelong education (or recurrent education) is put forward.

The general argument for society to invest in adult education is that the well educated youth today is an obsolete man tomorrow, and that the accelerated pace of social change puts us in danger of becoming obsolete, not only with regard to knowledge and skills, but also in values and senses of belonging (see e.g. Jensen et al., 1964:V). The role of adult education would be to keep cells A and C (knowledge and ability) at a level matching the changes.

Adult education as a way to meet the challenges created by science and technology is in no way a new phenomenon but was put forward also in the beginning of this century. There is a difference in reasoning that is worth mentioning. After World War II, the arguments for adult education have been mostly related to the economy, while the cultural lag that was the focus in the earlier literature (see e.g. Lindeman, 1921; SOU, 1924:5) plays a relatively smaller role.

The crucial question with regard to knowledge-ability is who is really affected by the technological changes and to what extent? The general notion in the fifties and sixties was that at all levels of qualification more education was needed to master the job, i.e., the labour market was consistently moving towards jobs which involved a general elevation of educational requirements. The actual development is, as we have tried to show elsewhere (Rubenson, 1979), somewhat different. There has not been a consistent move towards more educationally demanding jobs, but rather towards greater polarization. Mechanization and automation have substantially reduced the qualifications required of large groups, while a minority - although a growing one - is engaged in tasks requiring higher qualifications and a greater degree of specialization. The effect of the

polarization means that the differences existing among various groups entering the labour market become more and more pronounced throughout the life span.

With regard to the external-internal function of education, cells A and C have over the last 20 years been closely connected with the economy's demand for qualifications; that is, to satisfy the economic goal (cf. the earlier discussion on Swedish policy). The internal process of these programs can neglect the value and motivational aspects as the transmission of general role expectations is achieved through earlier schooling and allocation process. From what we have been saying about the development in the labour market, it is obvious that the economy goal will come into conflict with the allocation goal.

As often pointed out in the adult education literature, the changes affect not only the demand for qualified labour, but also everyday skills as those involved in child-raising, health, leisure time activity. Adult education has here become a substitute for the help that the social network that existed in the traditional communities could provide. If one were to take the standpoint that the person had the motivation, the only problem would be to provide the knowledge and skills necessary. There is, as we shall discuss later, little proof to justify this assumption.

Motivation and Values

Returning to the interpretation of the Swedish policy of adult education, it is clear that the adult education experience is supposed to effect not only knowledge and ability, but also motivation (Cells E and F). An important component in the resources by which the individual can command his life situation is the motivation to pursue the desired behaviour, e.g., participate in political or cultural activities.

The educational process cannot be separated from its social context. Thus adult education theory cannot be based on the normative standpoint that education should influence motivation in a certain direction. Political and other decisions reflecting the value system might come to influence the educational process in such a way that the participants will come to be socialized in quite another way than expected (see, for instance, Höghielm's article below).

Allocation and Legitimation

With regard to the paradigm in Fig. 2, how do the allocation and legitimation functions apply to adult education? According to the paradigm the creation of resources depends not only on what takes place during the studies, but also on the rules defining what roles "graduates" may play in society. In research on outcomes of adult education one usually neglects the last aspect. Instead, the problem is conceptualized as follows:

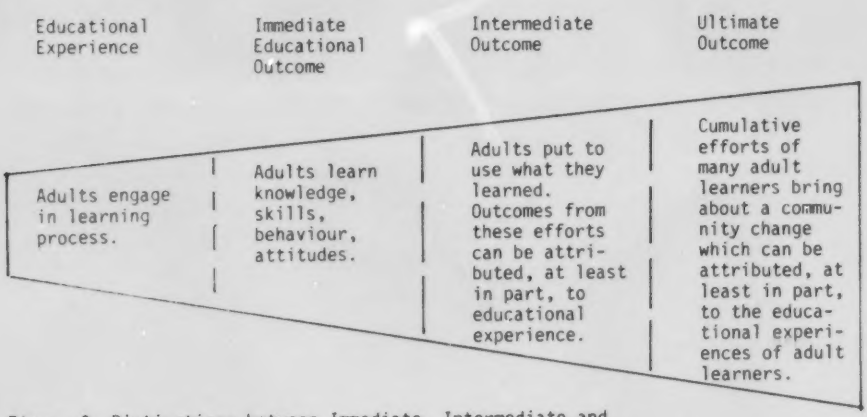

Educational Experience
Immediate Educational Outcome
Intermediate Outcome
Ultimate Outcome
Adults engage in learning process.
Adults learn knowledge, skills, behaviour, attitudes.
Adults put to use what they learned. Outcomes from these efforts can be attributed, at least in part, to educational experience.
Cumulative efforts of many adult learners bring about a community change which can be attributed, at least in part, to the educational experiences of adult learners.

Figure 3: Distinctions between Immediate, Intermediate and Ultimate Consequences (Adapted from Farmer, Sheats and Deshler, 1972:33)

The outcome will, according to the chart, depend entirely on the educational experience. The underlying assumption in the adult education literature is that there is a positive relationship between the adoption of adult education principles (influence from the learner, etc.) and the outcome.

To the best of our knowledge there does not exist any study that has directly addressed the allocation effects of adult education. We will, therefore, discuss this matter indirectly, departing from the following axiom:

> *The better an education pays off in the form of income, status, occupation, political efficacy, cultural competence and related factors the greater the socio-economic differences between participants and non-participants.*

The reasoning will proceed in two steps. First we shall look at different forms of adult education with regard to socio-economic differences and then to what extent the principle of adult education is applied.

Below we have attempted, on the basis of English, North American and Swedish data, to insert some forms of adult education on the socio-economic difference dimension.

1	2	3	4
No socio-economic differences established between participants and non-participants			Large socio-economic differences established between participants and non-participants

1 = Learning-project

2 = Study circles, community organizations, churches

3 = Education through employer

4 = College and University programs for adults

It may seem strange here that "learning-project"[1] is included as it is more or less self-directed. However, with the acceptance (in words if not in deeds) of lifelong-learning as a master concept for organizing the educational system, the area for public policy is widened drastically as the concept embodies a rather broad view of learning. The U.S. legislation on lifelong-learning states:

> *Learning takes place through formal and informal instruction, through educational programs conducted by public and private educational and other institutions and organizations, through independent study, and through the efforts of business, industry, and labor.* (Title IB, Section 131(6))

With this view on learning, research on learning efforts has become of vital interest to those formulating policy and controlling the distribution of resources (see Ziegler, 1977). This is especially true as there doesn't seem to exist any marked variation in participation in learning projects with regard to socio-economic status or race.

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[1] In brief a learning project, also called learning effort, is a highly deliberate effort to gain and obtain definite knowledge and skill to change in some way. To be included, a series of related learning sessions must add up to at least seven hours (Tough, 1977).

Tough, going through the research within the fields of learning projects (1977:10) maintains:

> *Hiemstra's survey, like several others, has shattered some of our stereotypes about who does not participate in lifelong learning. If we study participation in adult education classes, clear differences show up between different populations. But that may partly occur because persons with high educational attainment have cause to believe that courses are more legitimate or effective than self-planned learning, whereas those who have had unhappy school experiences very intelligently refuse to repeat that experience and will learn on their own. Turning to participation in learning projects, though, most of these differences disappear.*

Parenthetically, it is amazing that the results from research on learning projects have not initiated any critical analysis of the resources with which the learning projects provide the individual.

Let us now move to the opposite end of the scale, where college and university programs for adults have been placed. For economic reasons, as well as for the sake of equity between generations, adults who have previously been denied the possibility to get post-secondary education are being given a second chance. The people that have benefited most from the second chance are not, however, those who never had a chance, but those who had the first chance, but did not take it. Hopper and Osborn (1975:78) found that full-time adult universitystudents in England were downwardly mobile. They could revise this downward trend by the adult studies which thus, in fact, came to work against class-circulation. The Swedish experience from the reform of higher education is of special interest in this connection as it is one of the few attempts in the world to evolve a coherent approach to opening post-secondary education to adults. The Swedish experience so far is that the reform has served persons from the upper-middle class who were already quite well educated. Further, the findings follow the classical patterns that the more prestigious and desirable programs are the greater the social difference between participants (cf. Kim, 1979).

The Swedish Survey of Living Conditions shows that the largest socio-economic differences are found in post-secondary education (SCB, 1978). The great bulk of adult education in Sweden is, however, done through the study associations, which are linked to the popular movements. As indicated on the scale, there are social differences between participants in this form of education, though they are not as marked as at the colleges and universities. The same pattern has been observed in the USA (see Johnstone & Rivera, 1965:85).

According to the axiom, we would expect that the adult university programs, due to the rules that define what a person legitimately can do, would create the greatest resources and the learning projects the least. To a large extent this is a reflection of the demand for credit and certification in society. However, we should be careful not to reduce the question of resources to a matter of credit - non-credit, as such. Thus at lower socio-economic levels, adult education is used for skill certification or licence, while at the higher socio-economic level the emphasis is on job mobility (cf. Johnstone & Rivera, 1965:159; Cross, 1979:89). In the same way, non-credit is too heterogeneous a concept to be useful. What we really want to know is to what extent the programs are just a form of recreation and to what extent they create, e.g., cultural and political resources. Following the axiom, the hypothesis would be that the socio-economic differences would be more pronounced where the content could be labelled "high-brow culture" than in recreation classes. Unfortunately the materials we have found have been grouped in such a way that they cannot be used for answering the postulated hypothesis.

The second step in our analysis is to look at how the instructional methods applied agree with the principles of adult education. Available data (see e.g. Johnston & Rivera, 1965; SCB, 1978) indicate that the socio-economic differences are most marked in programs in which talks or lectures dominate and are smallest where discussion is the method used. Stated in another way, there seems to exist a negative connection between the use of adult education principles and the creation of resources. So as not to be misunderstood, it should be stated that this is not a criticism of the principles of adult education as such. We wholeheartedly agree with the idea that adults, as well as children for that matter, as far as possible should have influence over their own studies and be active. The point we are trying to make is that the outcomes cannot be seen just in relation to the educational process as such, but that we must also take into account what roles, culturally, politically and economically, to which the education allocates the person.

Participation

The discussion so far has dealt with only one of the two assumptions behind allocation policy in adult education: that participation in adult education should create resources. Departing from the general theory, we shall now talk to the other basic assumption, i.e., those with low resources should be recruited.

The object of education is to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states demanded of him not solely by the political society as a whole, but also by the particular milieu for which he is specifically destined (Durkheim, 1956:71). Thus, despite some rhetoric to the contrary, children do not leave the educational system with the same basic values.

With regard to Brim's scheme, the student, due to selective socialization and the allocation functions of education, will come to differ with regard to Cells A-F. Given that, we accept, in principle, the argument so far, the question to be answered is: to which groups in society has the educational system transmitted the instruments indispensible to the successful undertaking of adult education Looking at the research on participation in adult education, we would conclude that it is almost axiomatic that adult education increases rather than decreases the educational gap between socio-economic groups.

Adult educators often point to schools as the major villain. However, it is not very fruitful to concentrate only on experienced comfort and well-being in order to explain the influence of schools on subsequent participation in adult education. Such a discussion departs from the implicit assumption that the only purpose of the system is to facilitate the achievements of educational and instructional goals. One thus avoids the problematic aspect of how to account for the influence of the external functions of education.

An "adult education" that implicitly takes for granted that the adult is a conscious, self-directed individual in possession of the instruments vital to making use of the available possibilities for adult education and that relies on self-selection to recruit the participants, will help to widen, not narrow, the educational and cultural gaps in society. Further transmitting a culture closely linked to the one dominant among the already resourceful group will result in adult education all the more perfectly strengthening this group. Far from being neutral, the system reflects the values of the dominant groups. Thus, according to Bourdieu's thesis on cultural reproduction (Bourdieu, 1977), the more successfully we declare the neutrality of adult education, the more effectively will the system reproduce the dominant culture.

Despite the gross differences in participation between socio-economic groups, there are many participants from the so-called disadvantaged groups. If they

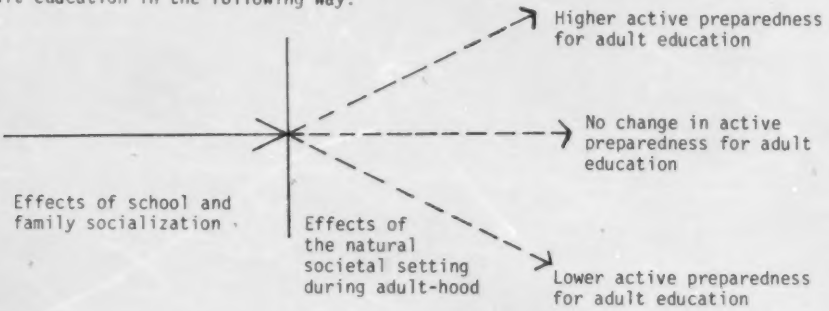
participate in programs which only create resources in the area where they already are fairly strong, the redistribution effects will be quite small. We shall try to illustrate this by referring to participation by Swedish women classified as farmers. Their total participation figure is about the average for Swedish women (SCB, 1978). Fifty-six per cent of these women have been recruited to a study circle in handicrafts. (The average figure among Swedish women was 25 per cent.) This type of course is usually of a hobby character that would mainly provide social resources. The interesting thing is that, according to other data (see SCB, 1979:206), women farmers already have stronger social resources than women in general.

In order to account fully for the cumulative effects of the pre-adult education system, we also have to look at the way in which people are allocated to different natural societal settings and how these affect participation in adult education. The allocation of roles influences participation in two ways. Firstly, certain roles provide more opportunities to take part in adult education than do others. This is most obvious if we look at occupational positions. Not only do those in higher positions get more opportunities through their work to take part in institutionalized forms of education, but they also have by far the best chances to learn new things on the job itself (see SCB, 1978:247). Further, they are in environments which give them scope for influencing their situation.

The other way that the allocation of roles has an impact is more indirect and has to do with how the objective world influences the perception of reality. Thus, mental structures are inevitably formed differently in different social and historical settings (Mannheim, 1936:238). This is reflected, for example, in the established relationship between job design and the individual's life outside work.

When the scope for personal initiative on the job was limited by factors in the work process, then the individual's ability to participate during leisure time in activities which called for personal initiative seemed to decrease (Meissner, 1971). When employees were given increased influence over their own work, they showed a greater interest in participating in decision-making processes, both at work and outside work (Gardell, 1976).

Changes in the natural societal environment may modify the individual's view of reality and transmit new values and competencies appropriate to the changed role. Changing the social setting can also alter the instruments through which a person relates to adult education. We could illustrate the relationship between the socialization effect and allocation effect on a person's active preparedness for adult education in the following way:


Higher active preparedness for adult education
No change in active preparedness for adult education
Lower active preparedness for adult education
Effects of school and family socialization
Effects of the natural societal setting during adult-hood

One weakness of the general theory as presented here is that it does not directly account for competing cultures. This is less of a problem when analyzing the school system, which is built on the dominant culture, than when analyzing adult education, which nas a somewhat more pluralistic structure.

It may be recalled that S/F theory assumes consensus across social systems while Marxist theory departs from shared values within class and from conflict between classes. There is, however, a third way, the cultural revitalization theory, which, in contrast, focuses not on social classes but on deliberate organized conscious efforts by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture (Paulston, 1976:30). Before ending the discussion on the applicability of the general theory, we therefore must address the question of competing cultures.

Competing Cultures

We can picture a situation in which a revitalization movement through adult education transmits a culture which is in conflict with the dominant culture. Fig. 5 could be said to represent the situation in Sweden at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, when the popular movements formed their own adult education instititutuions; folk high schools and study associations. Up until the present time these study associations form the back-

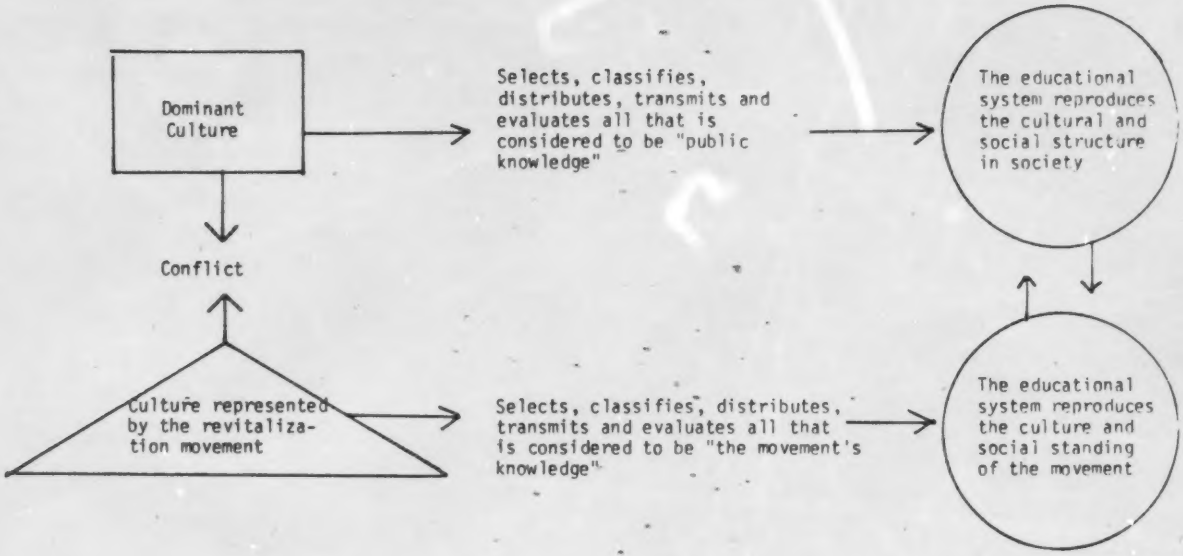

Dominant Culture
Selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates all that is considered to be "public knowledge"
The educational system reproduces the cultural and social structure in society
Conflict
Culture represented by the revitalization movement
Selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates all that is considered to be "the movement's knowledge"
The educational system reproduces the culture and social standing of the movement

Fig. 5. Competing culture transmitted through adult education.

bone of adult education in Sweden. The aim of the movements has been to innovate, not merely discrete elements, but largely new cultural systems specifying new social norms and behaviours.

Take the workers' movements as an example. By establishing their own study association, they had the power to control the content and methods and allowed their educational programs to reflect their ideology (see Fig. 6).

In parenthesis, it could be mentioned that the North American labour movement, in contrast, decided to rely on existing adult education institutions. Instead of trying to seize control and reproduce their own culture, they came to rely on institutuions that reflected the dominant culture.

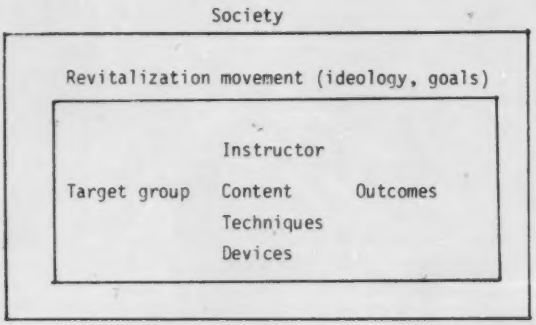


Fig. 6. Linkage between revitalization movement and the educational process.

Adult education as part of a movement had both a socialization function (as defined in Brim's scheme) and an allocation function. The task of adult education was to train and strengthen the leadership and make the workers part of their culture and in command of their life situations. The movement's education also came to be an important channel for mobility through non-traditional routes.

The relationship in Sweden between the revitalization movements and the dominant culture has changed during this century. The movements have, more and more, become part of the establishment (see Fig. 7).

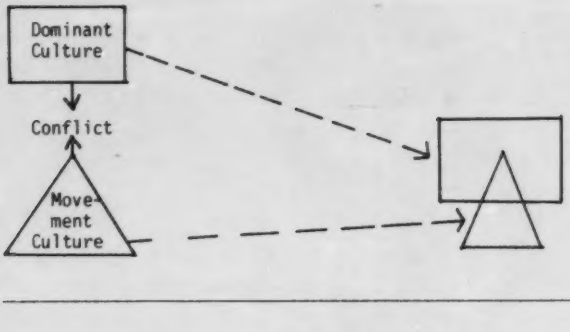


Fig. 7. The changed relationship between the dominant culture and the one represented by the movement.

The changed relations are reflected in the State subsidy to the study associations, which since they were introduced in 1947 have drastically effected the situation for the movements. The two most obvious consequences have been an enormous growth (the participation rate was about ten times higher in 1977 than in 1947) and the difficulties in retaining and articulating the movement's specific culture (cf. SOU 1979:85).

The movement's program of adult education has through the subsidy system an unavoidable relationship with society at large. Thus the value system in society has, through political decisions, come to restrict the reproduction of the movement's culture and increase the influence of the dominant culture.

The allocation function of popular adult education has also changed. The widespread credentialism is society has also reached the movements. Their educational system has come to be used less as an alternative, but more as a complement to the official educational system.

Conclusion

It is our view, as indicated in this article, that the general theory as outlined in Fig. 2 is adequate when solving problems with regard to the allocation policy in adult education. The general theory (Fig. 2) is directly applicable to those forms of adult education that are part of the official educational system, e.g.,

municipal schools, thus largely governed by the same mechanism as pre-adult education. This is not to say that the interaction systems are the same. While the curricula can be a sufficient starting point for looking at the links between the wider society and pre-adult education the financing arrangements cannot be left out when dealing with adult education (see e.g. Mørch-Jacobsen's article below).

The situation in Sweden today is that the allocation policy is implemented through two different but somewhat related systems. One part of the adult education is completely in the power of the public authorities. The other part, the popular adult education, which could be seen as a competing culture is connected with the official system through the subsidy system. In order to account for the role of the revitalization movements in Swedish adult education, some changes are needed in the presented paradigm (see Fig. 8). It is argued that the educational process as well as the allocation function are effected not only through their relation with the wider society at large but also by the relation to the revitalization movement.

Up to this point we have outlined briefly a framework for conducting research on the Swedish allocation policy. We have touched on the problem of taking the so-called discipline of adult education as a point of departure and the need to integrate general theory into the discipline. In doing that, we pointed to the relationship between the external and internal functions of education. It was argued that, to the extent that the adult education system is governed by the same ideology, power and perceived group self-image as the formal school system, our assumption is that tis function is related to the functions of the formal educational system and that the various roles it seemingly plays in socialization have to be understood by the selection that has already taken place.

Obviously this whole structure is presented here only in fundamental terms. Our intention here is merely to outline the main points. The studies to be presented in this volume are all carried out within the theoretical context briefly described above.

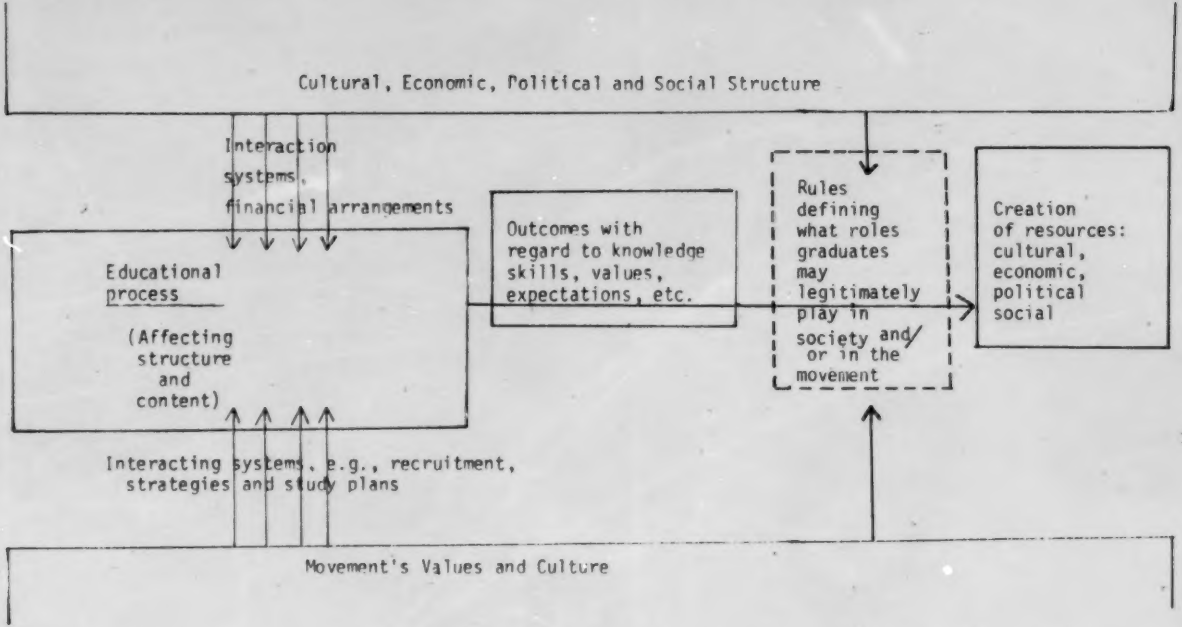

Cultural, Economic, Political and Social Structure
Interaction systems, financial arrangements
Educational process
(Affecting structure and content)
Outcomes with regard to knowledge skills, values, expectations, etc.
Rules defining what roles graduates may legitimately play in society and/or in the movement
Creation of resources: cultural, economic, political social
Interacting systems, e.g., recruitment, strategies and study plans
Movement's Values and Culture

Fig. 8. The relationship between society, adult education through a revitalization movement and the creation of individual resources.

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ALLOCATION POLICY IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

Kim Mørch-Jacobsen

INTRODUCTION

Allocation policy and adult education are concerned with social change. Thus the vital issue concerns the extent to which adult education can help to improve the living situation of individual people and to change relationships within and between groups - large and small - and the community as a whole.

This is a highly complex question, and we do not really possess any substantial documentation on which to base an answer to it. There are, admittedly, a great number of treatises, mostly theoretical. Thus the hypotheses concerning education and social change have reflected a wide variety of premises (usually ideologically based), with structural functionalism and (more recently) the theory of systems constituting one body of opinion and theories of conflict, including Marxism and anarchistic utopism, constituting another.

These hypotheses, however, rest on very slender foundations in terms of empirical surveys concerning educational changes and their large-scale social effects - intentional and unintentional.

In most cases where educational changes are implemented, only the goals and the implementation process are described, the effects being seldom subjected to any closer analysis (Paulston, 1976).

In order, therefore, to achieve a profounder understanding of educational and social change, we need to make a systematic study and comparison of a number of attempts at change, together with their intentional and unintentional consequences.

To start with, however, one's expectations concerning the results of this type of research have to be realistic. Thus educational and social change involves an extremely complex process of interaction between an extraordinary number and variety of social factors.

It is naive to suppose that this can be described or explained by means of simple cause-and-effect-models. For example, how can the effects of educational change be discerned in the complex process whereby present and future society is shaped in a permanent interaction of economic, political and organizational forces at local, national and international level?

Complications arise not least on account of the vigorous interaction of the educational sector with other sectors of society. In many cases, for example, education is also an integral part of activities in the organizations representing various interest groups, and those organizations too are a factor contributing to social development.

Specifying the effects of educational changes in general appears to be a complex undertaking. Discerning the effects of changes in a single education field - for our purposes, adult education appears almost impossible.

But realization of the hazards involved and the entertainment of realistic expectations are no excuse for ignoring the question altogether.

One implication of our argument, therefore, is that we need to consider the following question in the light of practical experience: What social changes can be achieved in practice through measures in the education sector and what changes is it unrealistic to expect?

We shall now proceed to consider this question more closely with special reference to the aims of adult education regarding allocation policy, together with the efforts made and the effects produced in this respect in Sweden. To certain extent we shall also take examples from other Nordic countries, i.e. Denmark, Finland and Norway.

Thus our intention is to assemble material concerning educational practice in a number of countries which are very similar in structure. This should help to deepen our understanding of social and educational change and thus provide us with a better foundation for educational decision-making and action.

The deliberations and material presented here come from a survey the author is currently engaged in as expert adviser to the Nordic Council of Ministers. The main concern of that inquiry is with allocation policy and adult education in a Nordic

perspective, so that the inquiry is based on an evaluation of adult education policy in all the Nordic countries.

This inquiry is not yet completed; it has just about reached the half-way mark. The deliberations and findings presented here are therefore preliminary, but we hope that discussions of this article will contribute towards the further elucidation of the problems involved.

WELFARE IN THE NORDIC AREA

Standards of economic and material welfare in the Nordic countries are definitely high when viewed in an international context, just as class differences in the Nordic countries are considered to be somewhat less than in most other western countries. Nonetheless, the level of living surveys undertaken in the Nordic countries during the 1970s revealed inequalities in the allocation of both material and non-material resources between different population groups. (Allardt, 1976).

Whereas previously attention focused mainly on economic and material welfare, the Nordic countries today have a broader and more balanced concept of welfare which can, for example, be epitomized under the heading "The evolution of the welfare concept. From consumption to human activity and creativity." (Ross, 1975)

This approach is manifested, for example, in Erik Allardt's survey of welfare in the Nordic countries, which contains the following classification of fundamental needs:

(1) needs related to material and impersonal resources (Having)
(2) needs related to love, companionship and solidarity (Loving)
(3) needs devoting self-actualization and the obverse of alienation (Being)

Briefly, Erik Allardt operationalizes the concept of welfare into the following components in his Nordic survey:

(1) Having	(2) Loving	(3) Being
- Income	- Community attachment	- Personal prestige
- Housing	- Family attachment	- Insubstitutability
- Employment	- Friendship attachment	- Political resources
- Health	- Friendship patterns	- Doing interesting things
- Education		

We will not venture here into a discussion of the premises underlying Erik Allardt's investigation. Instead we will simply present some of the findings as a necessary background to the description of aims governing adult education in the Nordic countries.

Erik Allardt himself gives the following description of the starting point of his investigation.

> *The aim has been to study individual welfare. However, the tripartite classification of values does not exclude the consideration of values related to social structure. When studying the dispersion of Having, Loving and Being we are in fact studying the amount of equality - inequality. If we follow a suggestion by Johan Galtung, social justice in its turn can be operationalized by studying how need satisfaction correlates with important social background variables such as class, sex, age, religion, race etc. Social justice is then the condition under which there are no correlation: one's need satisfaction does not depend on who one is. Thus social justice prevails when, e.g. health does not depend on social class, ability to find companionship does not depend on race, political resources do not depend on sex, and so forth.*

It is on these premises that Erik Allardt has investigated the allocation of welfare in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. His main findings tally with those obtained in similar studies at national level. The main structure of his findings, too, is the same for all the Nordic countries. Thus he finds a clear connection between the components of "having". In other words, the duration and nature of education are bound up with income, housing conditions, employment and health. The longer a person's education, the greater will be his income, housing conditions and health. Similarly Allardt finds that there is a population group (about 15 per cent) which has had a short-term education and which by Nordic standards has a low income level, less good housing conditions, physically and mentally strenuous work and inferior health status. Furthermore, he finds a connection between having and being, i.e. a connection between education, living standard and, for example, opportunities of influencing society politically, doing interesting things and enjoying personal prestige.

The differences shown by Erik Allardt are similar to the results of several other parallel surveys. They have been an important back-ground for political action in the nordic countries with the aim to put different groups on a more equal footing. Attention has naturally focused primarily on education, in view of the importance with which it is credited as an influence on the distribution of other

benefits. Thus all of the Nordic countries have conducted practical experiments in different forms of egalitarian policy within most educational sectors.

Nordic education policy has lately been based on the assumption that a reallocation of education is one instrument to secure social change in favour of a more equal allocation of other resources between the various groups of the population.

First and foremost there has been a desire to reverse a trend whereby social heritage determines the scope and nature of the education received by the next generation. Taking the education system as a whole, the expansion which took place in the Nordic countries, during the sixties and seventies has not notably reduced the inequalities (see e.g. Härnqvist & Svensson, 1980; Ørum, 1976; The Commission of Low Income, 1980).

These experiences have made policy-makers aware of the fact that there has been too much faith on what a general strengthening of resources for adult education could lead to. Further education policy has come to be seen as interacting with labour market policy, social policy and housing policy and with the general structure of welfare policy. The worst jobs in the labour market are not eliminated through adult education. Other people take them over, and competition for all job opportunities is intensified. If adult education is to contribute towards greater equality between different population groups, it must overcome powerful social mechanism working against the process of equalization. Thus an expansion of formal qualifying adult education will not in itself be sufficient to improve the position of a particular group.

THE AIMS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

Allocation policy is presented and interpreted in the article by Kjell Rubenson (see pp. 1-45).

However the greatest insight is to be gained by considering practical results. Thus it is arguable that practice as a rule reflects substantial aims and that it is a truer reflection than explicitly formulated goals of the real division of power between different interest groupings in society. Aims which have not been officially formulated, for example, can also play a vital part in the allocation of resources. Thus it is an open secret that experienced politicians and organizational representatives often take a fiscal view of overriding, verbally formulated goals and attach greater importance to the distribution of resources.

Similarly, of course, the goals of adult education, like those of all other social phenomena, are not static. Thus they reflect the relative power yielded by different (political) interest groupings at a particular time. This distribution of power is changing all the time. Theoretically, therefore, one can conceive of a transformation between the formulation of goals and the moment when they come to be implemented.

We shall now proceed to describe how the normative pattern as expressed by the allocation goals has been materialized. Our discussion will start with a brief description of how the goals have been interpreted in the various Nordic countries.

Interpretation of the allocation goal in the Nordic countries

Politically and at central governmental level, the individual Nordic countries have to a greater or lesser extent formulated overriding aims for adult education. Thus the Swedish Government made repeated statements on this subject during the sixties and seventies, while in Denmark, for example, policy statements were confined to sporadic allusions.

Consequently the allocation objective does not occupy the same central position in the adult education policies of all the Nordic countries, and its position is of course a manifestation of the power exerted by different political constellations in the various countries at certain points of time.

In principle, however, most political groupings in the Nordic area endorse an overriding egalitarian objective, and there is virtual unanimity concerning the fundamental nature of the aim of furthering democracy. On the other hand, different interpretations are put on the concepts of equal status and equality. Thus a distinction is made between formal equality (in the sense of adults having the same formal rights to education as young persons), resource equality (society must ensure that equal economic resources are placed behind the individual person regardless of social background etc.), equality in terms of formal qualifications (it is primarily adults with the best aptitudes that must be helped to get on), or equality of achievement (educational resources must be reallocated so that the least advantaged receive most). The latter interpretation is equal to the allocation aim.

All these various interpretations have been put forward in the political arena during discussions of the aims of adult education. But realization of one egalitarian aim can thwart the realization of another. For example, equality of formal qualifications and equality of achievement are mutually antithetical.

Denmark does not have any legislation codifying the aims of adult education, but the Minister of Education has made several pronouncements on the subject, for example in connection with the launching of experimental projects. Thus in 1975 the focus was upon "the large, forgotten groups which up till now have not possessed the necessary motivation to go in for educational activities or cultural activities of a more general nature". Furthermore, the Minister clearly speaks in terms of allocation policy when she refers to "those who educationally speaking are most disadvantaged and underprivileged" and says that a system of lifelong education must not result in educational improvements for those population groups which are already privileged in this respect. Considerations of allocation policy are also present in remarks on draft legislation concerning formal adult education and labour market training. (Mørch-Jacobsen, 1979)

The Finnish Government adopted a programme of principle for adult education in 1978. This programme states that particular importance should be attached in the planning of adult education to the establishment of greater educational equality. Thus special attention should be paid to that part of the population whose education is most deficient, the aim being to encourage them to study and in every way to guarantee and improve their educational opportunities. (Finnish Government, 1978) The Finnish objective has yet to be analyzed at close range.

However, a series of interviews which the author has conducted with Finnish researchers. administrators, organization representatives etc. in connection with the work on the Nordic survey, point quite clearly to the allocation approach.

The Norwegian Adult Education Act, passed in 1977, states that

> *The purpose of adult education is to help the individual achieve a more meaningful life. This Act shall help to give persons of adult age equal access to knowledge, insight and skills which stimulate the spiritual and personal development of the individual and which strengthen the capacity of the individual for independent effort and co-operation with others in working life and in the life of the community.*

This section of the Norwegian Act is variously interpreted, but it should be considered in relation to another section of the same Act, Section 24, which expressly refers to the reallocation of educational resources between social classes, age groups and the sexes (Bill No 35, May 28. 1976). Furthermore, one observer concludes from an analysis of the Norwegian Act that "the section of the Adult Education Act most concerned with allocation policy enjoys widespread political support". (Knudsen, 1979) Another relevant document is the long-term programme (1977-81) adopted by the Norwegian Government in 1976, which underlines duties towards particular groups in society in relation to adult education (Norwegian Parliament, 1976-1977).

The concept of equality underlying Swedish adult education objectives is best referred to as equality of achievement and the aim of the allocation policy is to redistribute economic, political, social and cultural resources (see Rubenson, pp. 4-10).

Summing up, the allocation aspect has been and still remains a central component of the explicitly formulated aims of adult education as defined by the governments of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden.

We shall now turn to discuss the measures taken in order to realize the allocation policy and analyze the effects of these measures.

MEASURE OF ALLOCATION POLICY IN NORDIC ADULT EDUCATION

All of the Nordic countries have implemented a number of measures of allocation policy, especially during the second half of the 1970s. The most important of these measures are as follows.

Entitlement to educational leave (Only in Finland and Sweden)

In Finland and Sweden there exist legislation that entitles all employees to leave absence in order to participate in adult education. An employer may possibly stipulate a certain period from this leave of absence, but otherwise the employee can devote his leave of absence to any form of instruction and is entitled to resume his employment afterwards. An employee can also opt to work part-time a few hours a week.

Economic assistance for adult education participants

Sweden is the only country in the Nordic area with a general system of economic support for adult education. Thus economic support can be given to particular groups which are given priority for reasons of allocation policy. The number of beneficiaries is limited by resources, but support is given to those considered most in need.

This economic support provides almost complete compensation for the loss of earnings entailed by participation in adult education during working hours. There exist two forms of subsidies for adults. Hourly and daily study grants provide compensation for participating in shorter courses, up to 70 hours. Studies which must be pursued for longer uninterrupted periods qualify for a special study allowance.

Outreaching activities at workplaces and in housing areas

Experimental activation schemes have been mounted in all the Nordic countries. These schemes have entailed personal contact with the target group in order to break down barriers relating to information and attitudes, and they have been conducted both at workplaces and in housing areas.

In Denmark the Minister of Education has announced legislation concerning activation measures.

In Norway, provisions concerning activation measures have been included in the Adult Education Act (1978), but activation measures have not yet acquired any considerable scope in practice.

In Sweden, activation measures at workplaces and among fishing and farming communities are the subject of legislation passed in 1975, and these activities are far more extensive than in the other Nordic countries. Parallel to the legislation concerning activation measures at workplaces, a Shop Stewards' Act has been passed concerning the status of union officials. This Act makes it possible for outreaching activities to be conducted among employees during working hours.

Development of educational form and content

Efforts in the field of allocation policy have primarily been concerned with altering recruitment in existing adult education. Thus little effort has been made to develop the education for those adult groups which are given priority in terms of allocation policy. For example, no such provisions are to be found in the otherwise so comprehensive Swedish reforms passed in 1975. In certain fields, however, development has taken place in all the Nordic countries. The following examples will be mentioned.

Basic courses specially designed for adults who lack a fundamental command particularly of reading and writing have been introduced as part of formal adult education. Special arrangements have been introduced for the disabled, the mentally retarded etc., and teaching has been specially adapted to these groups. Language and social education courses have been provided for immigrants.

Norway has also laid down in its Adult Education Act that alternative primary education is to be developed for adults. This is expected to confer the same formal qualifications as traditional primary education, but it will be tailored more closely to the aptitudes, needs and experiences of adults. Thus instruction will not be tied down to traditional curricula, as is the case with formal instruction at present. The Act also declares the intention of building up an alternative system of evaluation in which, for example, job experience can be credited and can confer formal qualifications. Means of translating these ideas into practice are currently being discussed (Dalin, 1979).

THE EFFECTS OF IMPLEMENTED REFORMS

As was mentioned by way of introduction, the entire question of measuring the effects of changes undertaken in the field of adult education is highly complicated in terms both of more theoretical considerations and of empirical measurement. Thus the measures undertaken can be evaluated in various fields and on various levels, such as the following.

1) How many individuals and which persons have been recruited, i.e. what is the distribution of participants by background data? Which social and educational groups have been reached? Which people have been recruited within the various groups - th

active and highly motivated members or other members? What is the background of the participants who drop out?

2) What is the effect on the total living situation of the individual participants? One can, for example, adopt a wider approach in terms of welfare, possibly following Allardt's "have-love-be" classification in the Nordic welfare survey.

3) The effect in terms of the strengthening of organizations and other groupings; to what extent have they been strengthened as a result of adult education measures, and how conductive are they to the fulfilment of goals of allocation policy?

4) The effect on society as a whole in relation to allocation aims.

5) Which of the intended effects have been achieved, and what unintentional effects have there been?

Starting with recruitment, an evaluation will here be undertaken of the effects of the allocation policy.

Effects of allocation policy measures on recruitment[x)]

The recruitment of participants in adult education is a well-mapped sector of adult education research in the Nordic area. Thus in all the Nordic countries several investigations have been made concerning the backgrounds of participants.

Table 1 shows recruitment to some different forms of adult education.
Due to different methods of classifying the material and varying time-periods, it is difficult to make comparisons between the countries. It should also be noted that the statistical figures which appear are somewhat uncertain.

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x)This section is mainly reproduced from Rubenson, 1979.

Table 1. Participants in some different forms of adult education. (After Rubenson, 1979:5) All figures in per cent.

	Total	Voluntary educational association	Competence-oriented adult education	In-service education
Denmark Bunnage & Hedegaard (1978) refers to ages 20+ who participated 1975	33	16	3	
Norway Knudsen & Skaalvik (1979) refers to participants August 1977 - May 1978	24	15.5		11
Finland Lehtonen & Tuomisto (1975) refers to participants 1971-72	20			
Sweden SCB (1978) refers to ages 16-74+ who participated 1974	32	13[1] (app.18)	1.4 (3)	5[2]

[1] The figures for Sweden are probably too low. Another SCB-figure shows that the number for municipal adult education should be about 3 per cent. The figures for the study associations are also too low. In 1974 there were approx. 2.5 million circle participants. However, this number does not refer to physical persons as one and the same person can be included several times depending on the number of courses in which he/she participates. At a guess the true value is approximately 17-18 per cent.

[2] A total of 27 per cent of the employed particpated in some courses during working hours.

As can be seen from table 1 the voluntary educational associations occupy a special position. To illustrate the enormous expansion which has taken place in these associations the development in Sweden during the period 1931-1977 is shown in table 2.

Table 2. The activity of the voluntary educational associations in Sweden 1931-1977.

Year	No. of circles	No of circle participants
1931/32	7 440	97 343
1941/42	14 114	167 817
1951/52	33 482	346 117
1961/62	87 060	882 777
1971/72	203 423	2 005 741
1977/78	321 200	2 997 100

In what way have the increased opportunities of adult education influenced the distribution of education among different groups in society?

The classic correlations between age - participation and educational/social group - participation, consistently emerge (Lehtonen & Tuomisto, 1975; Molander, 1973; Bunnage & Hedegaard, 1978; SCB, 1978; Knudsen & Skaalvik, 1979). Contrary to the overall goal, the expanded system of adult education has thus served to increase the differences within as well as between generations in these countries.

Adult education as a whole can be included among the many material and non-material benefits which are unequally distributed in the Nordic countries. Thus there is a connection between participation in adult education and educational, cultural, regional, economic, family and general social background. As one might expect, therefore, the shorter a person's formal education has been, the more inferior his economic and social conditions will be, and the less likelihood there is of his participating in adult education as a whole. Within the various educational groups, it is primarily the active, well-endowed and highly motivated members who participate. The results are not unique. Similar results are reported from other countries (see e.g. London, 1970).

How are we to account for the fact that educational level consistently shows the highest correlation with participation in adult education? To some extent of course, it depends on the fact that the highly-educated are often in occupational positions which offer opportunities of participation in different forms of education (see e.g. SCB, 1978, p 248). The Nordic material shows, however, that the differences are very large even where non-competence-giving adult education is concerned (SCB, 1978, p. 147; Bunnage & Hedegaard, p. 69; Knudsen & Skaalvik, 1979).

This can be explained by the socialization which has taken place within the family, the school system and, later on, in working life. This has resulted in adult education becoming a part of the value system of certain groups but not of other groups.

Participation in non-competence giving adult education thus has been shown to be a part of a leisure style consisting of cultural activities - which is most usually found in the middle and upper classes (Bergsten, 1977, p. 136; Knudsen & Skaalvik, 1979, p. 36).

Several investigations have yielded the observation thus summarized by Knudsen (1979):

> *Individual benefits tend to reinforce one another. Similarly, individual benefits are reinforced by structural ones. Citizens with more long-term formal education often live in municipalities with abundant adult education opportunities, good infrastructure and educational amenities within easy reach. Groups which are already privileged enjoy more amenities and are in the best position to avail themselves of those amenities.*

One of the explanations of why education has not had the expected equalizing effects is that the advantaged groups have steered provision to too great an extent. This is due to the lack of a precise statement of goals concerning what forms and what educational content can work for redistributive policy, what groups' living-standards are to be levelled out etc (Broström & Ekeroth, 1977). A study of interest in this context is Finstad and Hansen's analysis of recruitment to Workers voluntary educational association. This study shows that even an organization with pronounced redistributive policy ambitions has a provision which corresponds best to the demands of the advantaged (Finstad & Hansen, 1976). One contributing factor is the general character of the subsidies which has made it difficult for organizations who seek to obtain allocation effects. As they could not compensate for the increased costs involved in recruiting the underprivileged, they have been forced to concentrate on other groups.

The fact that recruitment problems must not be seen only as a question of how information about the existing provision is to be supplied is underlined by the results of a survey of study needs and study obstacles among undereducated (Rubenson et al., 1977).

In spite of the availability of a wide selection of courses that was offered a large group stated that they had no opportunities of studying the course they

desired. An examination of the actual provision shows that these statements are not entirely referable to ignorance of opportunities; they also reflect deficiences in the range of opportunities.

The analysis of the effect of adult education are limited, however, by the fact that most of the national descriptions have concentrated exclusively on particular points, above all the recruitment aspect and organizational changes. But this also reflects the fact that allocation policy measures have above all been concerned with changes in these contexts. Consequently the analysis of allocation effects mainly covers recruitment effects; effects on the total living situation of the individual - and connections with the form, content and scope of adult education - cannot be empirically elucidated to the same extent. We shall, however, consider the meagre material available, and in doing so we shall consider a number of general issues relating to the educational discussion.

Allocation policy aims have been manifested first and foremost through a succession of measures undertaken specifically on behalf of the groups which are given top priority in allocation policy. But the efforts which have been made are limited in relation to the total body of adult education and, as we have already seen, they have primarily concerned the recruitment aspect. Thus resources available for allocation policy measures have been limited.

The discussion so far has dealt with recruitment to adult education in general. It should be noted that many of the studies were made before the allocation measurements came into full effect. As regards the groups recruited via specific measures of allocation policy, evaluations of both experimental activities and permanent arrangements lead to the conclusion that participant structure differs from that of the main sector of adult education. As regards the identity of the persons recruited with the aid of special recruitment measures based on allocation policy, there has been great success in reaching persons with only 7-8 years' previous schooling and no vocational education (see e.g. SOU 1974:54). However we must not forget that the people affected by the special educational measures are few in comparison to the total number of participants in adult education. Bearing this in mind we shall now turn to the most specific measures, outreaching activities and study subsidies.

Outreaching Activities[x)]

Few, if any, Nordic adult educational experiments have aroused as much attention internationally as the experimental programme FÖVUX pursued with outreaching activity. Trying to interest people in adult education through personal contact is, of course, not new; on the contrary, it has a long history in Nordic popular adult education. The new feature which arrived with FÖVUX is that the outreaching activity is given a more established form and organization on the basis of earmarked state funds to act as a recruitment model (SOU 1974:54).

The FÖVUX activity was followed by a gigantic experimental activity not only in Sweden but also in the other Nordic countries; so far especially in Denmark. To give an idea of the multitude of projects which must have been carried out we can mention that the Swedish National Board of Education's research programme for housing areas in 1976-1978 included no less than 136 local projects (NBE 1978-08-30).

Despite - or perhaps one should say thanks to - the extent of the outreaching activity it is almost impossible - except in a few instances like FÖVUX - to get a coherent picture of the experience gained. From each and every one of the local projects in, for example, the NBE's experimental programme there is a small report. However, in view of the disposition these have been given, it is difficult to draw any more coherent and general conclusions.

We do not take up this aspect out of any wish to criticize the NBE; rather, the intention is to point to the difficulties which exist when - completely correctly in my view - a locally based experimental programme is carried out. Bearing in mind that large experimental programmes are under way in different countries, we want to stress the need for analytical and co-ordinating ability in the central steering group.

However, despite the difficulties we have indicated we shall try to take up some fundamental aspects concerning outreaching activity and try as far as possible to relate the results available to these issues. The point of departure is that outreaching activity - as has been stated in various official documents - is a selective method, based on personal contact, by means of which we want to achieve redistributive effects i.e. recruit disadvantaged groups.

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x)This section is mainly based on Rubenson, 1979 (pp. 12 et. seq.).

The first question which appears is, of course, how effective the method has turned out to be. The results of some Swedish experiments have been summarized in table 3. It is important to stress that we must be careful about making any direct comparisons of these results as the circumstances surrounding them are very different. In fact it is only when we bring these into the picture that a comparison becomes interesting.

As is evident from table 3 FÖVUX has been considerably more successful than all the other experiments. Three factors have contributed to this:

- certain selectivity concerning who was approached
- advantageous study conditions[1)]
- the way the activity was carried out.

As a warning for and a criticism of the FÖVUX result it is sometimes stressed that the selection which took place at the places of employment was made in such a way that especially those who could be expected to study were contacted. The results from the first year of the experiment give this criticism some support as there was a negative correlation between the proportion interested and the proportion contacted at the place of work. However, in the material from subsequent years this negative correlation does not appear. This, as well as the fact that 64 per cent of those recruited in the first year had never previously participated in any form of studies after elementary school, indicates that the good recruitment results cannot be dismissed on methodological grounds.

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1) The FÖVUX investigation was not conducted primarily to test outreaching activities, but was set up with the more far-reaching aim of applying flexible studying arrangements and varous other measures to encourage the participation of those adults who, for social, psychological and geographical reasons, are not now enrolled in any kind of adult education programme. The target individuals could choose between different enrolement conditions (studies divided between working hours and spare time, spare-time studies with 300 kronor in incentive allowance, or spare-time studies without such an allowance). No charge was made for the courses or the materials used in them. In addition, financial assistance was payable to compensate for the extra cost of travel, meals and childminding entailed by course attendance. These conditions are distinctly better than what could be offered in other experiments. The effects on recruitment of study conditions and study support have been investigated. The possibility of studying half-time during working hours also seems to have had a relatively large effect on recruitment. More than half of the selected participants, who were offered this study condition, replied that it had been of great importance when they registered for their studies. On the other hand, the incentive allowance had no tangible recruitment effect. Furthermore study support, in this case principally compensation for child-minding or collectively organized baby-sitting, seems to have been of some importance at recruitment among women working in the home. For other groups study support had little or no importance.

Table 3. Experiences from a few Swedish experiments with outreaching activities.

	N	Proportion the study agent talked to	Proportion interested	Proportion beginning a course	Time per visit $\bar{x}$ minutes	Cost per contact (Sw crowns)	Cost per conversation	Education for the study agent, days
FÖVUX (study circles in priority subjects, average result per year)	(total) 4000	-[1]	50	40	45	20	40	5
The Kronoberg project (study circles, municipal adult education and higher education)	1600		38	-	-	-	-	-
NBE 1973 comprehensive school studies in municipal adult education and priority circles		33	14	7	7	10	30	0.5
SAMVUX (no courses offered directly)	2400	73	20	-	24	40	55	5
NBE research programme in housing areas (study circles)								0.5-3
(NBE 1977-08-31) year 2	40000	-	18	13	21	-	-	
(NBE 1978-08-30) year 3	60000	-	23	18	31	-	-	

[1] Data not available.

On account of the special supportive measures which occurred it is, of course, impossible to distinguish clearly the significance of outreaching activity. However, interviews with those affected show that many probably would not have participated if they had not been contacted in the way they were. In connection to the outreaching activities of FÖVUX - as of all the other experiments - the following factors, among others are of interest:

- Level of ambition
- Where the activity is carried out and by whom
- The coordination between different study agents

In the following these aspects are dealt with from a more general angle.

Level of ambition

The fundamental dividing line goes between outreaching activity as a short-term tool for recruitment and as a long-term instrument for giving the individual as fair a chance as possible of judging whether he/she should commence some form of studies. Take experiment 3 in table 3; this is a typical example of an informative type of outreaching activity. In these earlier experiments in housing areas the principal interest was to inform about a particular provision with the aim of recruiting people. Moreover the time available was so short that on the average only 7 minutes could be devoted to each visit. This procedure could really be regarded as 'a verbalized brochure method'. Those who can profit from it are people who already have high study inclinations and many of them would register anyway.

Here we want to refer briefly to a longitudinal study of obstacles to participate in adult education (Rubenson, 1975). The design allowed the investigator to examine study obstacles in the light of both previous intentions and actual participation. When obstacles were studied in this way, it was observed that environmental obstacles, in particular "too little information", were - relatively - strong deterrents among those who wished to participate but did not. In addition it was noted that those who did participate could often be recognized by the infrequency with which they reported psychological obstacles prior to recruitment, while those who were not interested and did not participate were conspicuous by the emphasis

they placed upon such groups of factors, as "the education is of no value", and "uncertainty in the face of the studies".

Judging from these results the informative model for outreaching activity can be successful only where those who were interested but had not taken part are concerned. However, to reach the target group the level of aspiration has to be much higher than was the case in experiment 3.

In the SAMVUX project (experiment 4 in table 3) outreaching activity has been analyzed from a redistributive policy perspective (Broström & Ekeroth, 1976). The authors stress that the fundamental idea should not be to recruit as many as possible in the short term. Instead the study organizer should, apart from giving a comprehensive picture of adult education, also start a contact which could be regarded as the first step in a process which may eventually lead to recruitment. This means a departure from the short-term campaigns which have mainly dominated the activity.

Today it has become popular to agree with the ideas of SAMVUX. However, as far as the author is aware the "long-term model" has never really been tried. To a great extent the experiments still proceed more according to a campaign model. The explanation is not insufficient will, but the fact that the funds for the activity are allocated in such a way that long-term experiments are made difficult or completely impossible.

The change that has taken place in recent years is a transition from more informative to communicative outreaching activities. If we look at the summary in table 3, we see, for instance, that the NBE in its more recent experiments has given considerably more time than previously. Existing reports from the study organizers also show that they are now faced with new and difficult situations in the role of 'therapist'.

The statistical data indicate - perhaps completely according to expectations - that with the longer time it has been possible to get more people in the target group interested. The FÖVUX success as it appears in table 3 is, apart from the favourable study conditions, a consequence of the high level of ambition, i.e. abundant time, well-educated study organizers etc.

The design of the subsidy system is probably the strongest tool for directing the level of ambition. A general character of the subsidies makes it difficult for organisations which seek to obtain allocation effects. As they can not compensate for the increased costs involved in recruiting the underprivileged, they will be forced to concentrate on other groups.

Different forms of outreaching activity

It is common to distinguish between outreaching activity in housing areas and at work-places. In the Kronoberg Project (no 2 in table 3) as well as in FÖVUX the main part of the activity has been conducted at work-places.[x)] Judging from the number of persons recruited, it is obvious that the greatest successes have been achieved at work-places. Several interacting factors contribute to this.

In housing areas the study organizers simply do not get hold of everyone. Another reason is that the groups who are outside the labour market are often the really disadvantaged and hard-to-recruit groups. Particularly exposed groups are people on early retirement pensions and the long-term unemployed. Other groups are immigrants, handicapped and those working in the home.

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x) Outreaching activities at work-places are possible in Sweden on account of the labour marked legislation, which gives the trade unions the possibility of pursuing the activity during working hours. Outreaching activity in housing areas still takes place in the form of an experimental programme for which the NBE is responsible. The voluntary education associations apply to the NBE for projects; the Board is responsible for evaluation. Where work-places are concerned Parliament decided in 1975 that the regional adult education committees should be responsible for funds which would be put at the disposal of the trade unions. In recent years funds have also been allocated to the farmers' and the fishermen's associations as well as to the craftworkers'.

Through different reforms in Sweden it has been possible to link outreaching activity directly to the Educational Leave Act and the Studies and Study Assistance Acts so as to be able to offer as favourable a study situation as possible. However, it turns out that it was often difficult to exploit existing legal opportunities. This was particularly true of small work-places where people often stressed that their work-mates would land up in difficulties (the Kronoberg Project, December 1977, p 73).

Co-ordination

As society has become more and more actively involved not only in education leading to formal qualifications but also in popular adult education, demands for the co-ordination of information activities have grown stronger and stronger. However, while this has been happening, the voluntary education organizations have been putting considerable emphasis on developing distinctive images in relation to one another; they have also jointly adopted a partly dismissive attitude to the sector for education leading to formal qualifications. So the situation is not particularly favourable as far as increased co-operation in outreaching activities, for instance, is concerned.

Within both the Kronoberg Project and SAMVUX, models for joint information and recruitment activity have been tested. Kronoberg was a joint project involving different central authorities and the trade unions. Thus it has support at the highest possible level - which among other things probably explains why it was possible to get the different organizers of adult education to agree on joint information. The experience of the SAMVUX Project, however, is considerably more negative. Further, the NBE's evaluation shows that the individual voluntary education organizations only presented their own arrangements and only obtained information on e.g. education leading to formal qualifications in response to direct inquiries. A similar split can be observed in the Danish experimental programme (cf. Mørch-Jacobsen, 1979). Without strong central support it thus seems to be difficult to achieve any farreaching attempts at co-ordination locally.

Study-subsidy

The available data on the Swedish reform of study subsidies for adults indicates that the target group has been reached - at far as the group is defined in terms of age and previous education. In table 4 a comparison is made between those participating in voluntary education associations and those who got daily or hourly study grants. This kind of grants often are used for participating in study circles or other shorter courses. In table 5 corresponding figures are given for individuals receiving adult study allowance (intended for longer periods of education) and participants in municipal adult education.

Table 4. Comparison between participants in study-circles and individuals who received daily or hourly study grants.

Educational background	Hourly and daily study grants 1977/78 CSN 1979:6 (per cent)		Participation in voluntary educational association total (1976/77) SCB 1980:5 (per cent)
6	13		
7 years	21	46	34
8	12		
9 years primary education or intermediate school	24		14
Other forms of education	31		52
	100		100
N	119 328		app: 1 000 000

Table 5. Comparison between participants in municipal adult education and individuals who received adult study allowance.

Educational background	Adult study allowence CSN 1979:6 (per cent)		Municipal adult education (Fall 1978) SCB 1980:5 (per cent)
6-7 years	34		
8 yeras	17	51	19
9 years primary education	25		
Intermediate education	8	33	46
Other forms of education		16	35
		100	100
N		22 199	app: 175 000

As tables 4 and 5 show the proportion of undereducated is larger among those who received some kind of subsidy. However, the data do not say anything about how these individuals would have acted if no subsidy had been available. In other words, are they the same kind of persons who anyhow would have participated? Here it is necessary to look at the whole reform strategy. Thus the possibilities for outreaching activities should be seen as an effort to reach the disadvantaged. However, it is always a risk that the available grants will be used by persons who are formally undereducated but in reality have strong resources.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Although the allocation goal is important in the adult education of all the Nordic countries, its effects until now have been limited, if we look at adult education as whole. Thus the anticipated effects were unrealistic in relation to the measures that were taken in order to achieve the allocation goal. In order to reach the goal, economic resources must be escalated considerably. In view of the present economic situation it is unlikely that the educational sector will get any additional money. Further allocation measure must be financed by redistributing money already available in the educational sector. Such a process will reveal underlying conflicts in society, and the real division of power between different interest groups will be more visible. Thus the discrepancy between the normative pattern and the realization of this resulting from the political decisions taken will increase.

Taken as a whole, the question of adult education and allocation policy is a highly complex one comprising, for example, elements from philosophy, political science, economics, sociology, social psychology, organization psychology, pedagogics and psychology. An integrated approach is nonetheless called for. The discussion must not be confined to recruitment, for example. Ideally speaking, the integral approach should include the following fields.

- Fundamental human and social ideology. Views as to what the world is like and what it ought to be like.

- Analyses of our present society, based on interpretations of welfare studies, statistics etc. What mechanisms are conductive to biased allocation of resources?

- In the light of 1) and 2), a more detailed description and grading of important social objectives, e.g. the desire for a greater degree of equality between different groups of the population.

- Adult education in relation to desirable social changes. Explicit and implicit aims of adult education. Allocation objectives and varying interpretations of the same. (The aims of economic growth, quality of life and equality have traditionally been discussed in relation to one another, and theorists have considered the extent to which these three aims can be realized conjointly and the point at which they come into conflict with each other.)

- The practical ability of adult education to contribute towards social change and deliberations concerning effects which can be realistically anticipated. Delineation of the role of adult education in relation, for example, to labour market policy, social policy and co-operation policy, housing policy, social welfare policy and so on.

- Resources. How great are the efforts made in pursuit of the objective defined? The allocation of resources in various spheres. What supplementary arrangements are needed? General organization.

- The connections between the form, content and scope of adult education and the social changes desired.

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RECRUITMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF ALLOCATION POLICY

Lars-Erik Olofsson

One of the most important aims of adult education is to narrow the education gaps produced by youth education. Adult education is assumed in this connection to act as an instrument of allocation policy and thus contribute towards greater equality and social justice.

In pursuit of this aim, several educational reforms have been passed over the years to make it easier for individual persons to participate in adult education. For example, the entrance qualifications for higher education have been altered so that people without traditional basic theoretical education can more easily gain access to adult education at post-secondary level. The connection between family background and educational achievement has been demonstrated by several studies, e.g. Husén (1969). Coleman (1966) found among other things that family background did a great deal more than school characteristics to explain differences in the educational achievement of individual schoolchildren. He also found that the differences between individuals with different family backgrounds increased throughout their school careers. On the other hand, some researchers take issue with the Coleman Report. Carnoy and Levin (1976) present several empirical studies that

> *were done primarily as a reaction to the Coleman Report of 1966. Coleman reported - erroneously - that once the socioeconomic background of children in school is accounted for, school inputs have negligible effect on students' achievement. The studies discussed here show that it is possible to alter the allocation of resources in schools to increase the performance of those who are now receiving fewer schooling resources. But the data also make clear that equalizing resources spent on schooling for children of different socioeconomic, ethnic, or racial groups will not equalize academic performance among those groups.*

The questions to be answered therefore, are whether the increased availability of adult education will make it possible for the under-educated to obtain compensation. How are the reforms experienced and which groups of individuals will go in for adult education? Finally, the most important question of all: do educational reforms and increased participation in adult education have the

effect of closing or widening the educational gaps in the community?

Broström and Ekeroth (1977) refer among other things to the following problems in connection with educational reforms.

> *One important element of a reform of the educational system concerns the changes which the reform in itself produces in individual views concerning the value of reforms to the individual person. If the community at large remains unchanged and an educational reform is carried out, it is probably only people with a positive view of education that will be affected - people who have already received a good education.*

If this is so, the reform in question will, if anything, help to widen the educational gaps rather than reduce them. Rubenson (1979) maintains that this is the case, and he attempts to explain this state of affairs and to indicate some of the preconditions that have to be met in order to change the course of development - namely active preparedness, structural factors, working life and educational opportunities.

The intentional aim of allocation policy in adult education is to break the vicious circle whereby cultural capital is added to cultural capital throughout the individual's life cycle (cf. Bourdieu, 1977, p. 493). The crucial question then arises to what extent and under what circumstances (with regard to adult education and structural factors in society) adult education can decrease the gap that has been developed through upbringing and earlier education. The limitation of nearly all recruitment studies in dealing with this question is that they have been hampered by the lack of longitudinal data, since one needs to be able to follow the development of individual subjects over a considerable period of time in order to study the effects of family background, education and working life.

The purpose of this article is to shed empirical light on a number of vital questions concerning adult education recruitment viewed in the context of allocation policy.

The empirical part of this paper is founded on the data bank which has been built up within the framework of three research projects financed by the National Board of Education, namely the Upper Secondary School Forecasting Project, the Västmanland Survey and the STYGG project (STYGG in Swedish being

short for "studies and vocational choices ten years after leaving elementary school"). The survey population on which the three projects are based comprises the entire generation of pupils which completed grade 9 of elementary school in the County of Västmanland in the school year 1965/66 (3 650 persons).

Among other things the data bank contains data concerning social background, completed education and occupational activities from 1965 to 1977, by which latter date the subjects were about 28 years old. The data were collected from registers of various kinds and via questionnaires administered on various occasions.

A more exhaustive description of the contents of the data bank can be found in Appendix A. The greater part of the information was collected by means of questionnaires posted to the survey population. All questionnaire studies are affected by non-response, and this can sometimes be a real problem, especially in longitudinal studies. It was possible, however, to carry out comparisons of response and non-response to the various questionnaires because practically comprehensive information was available for the entire population concerning such particulars as sex, social class, line of studies chosen in grade 9, intelligence test results and marks.

Appendix B contains a comparison of respondents and non-respondents, plus a table showing the drop-out rates on the various occasions when questionnaires were administered.

Before going on to present the problems which I intend to elucidate in empirical terms, I would like to discuss briefly the term "adult education". It is hard to come up with a completely straightforward definition of the term because there are so many different factors involved, e.g. the participant's age, the level of studies, educational organization, the sponsoring organization and the duration of the studies and so forth.

The following definition, provided by the Commission on Vocational Education (SOU 1966:3, p. 276) has been adopted for the purposes of this article.

> *Education commencing after previously completed or discontinued basic education and after a certain period of vocational activity. Adult education is thus taken to include all education not forming part of basic or initial education. Basic education may have been confined to compulsory*

schooling or it may have included upper secondary and post-secondary education. Adult education must therefore relate to all levels of the regular education system. Its characteristic feature is that of being addressed to adult persons who have been vocationally active for some period and have thus gained experience of gainful employment and working life.

As Rubenson (1975) points out, this definition also entails certain problems of demarcation. How, for example, are we to characterize the activities of the adult education associations? What are the minimum dimensions required for a course to be classifiable as adult education? And what about private study? The following operational definition of adult education will be employed in this paper:

> Adult education is all education undergone after compulsory schooling and preceded by at least one year's vocational activity. It must correspond to at least one week's full-time studies.

This definition also involves demarcation problems. What about work in the home? In the present article this type of work is treated on a level with vocational activity.

The following pages will be devoted to an empirical investigation of certain problems relating to adult education recruitment as an aspect of allocation policy, viz:

- Do increased adult education opportunities at post-secondary level help to reduce the educational gaps in society?

- What pattern of development is described by the occupational status of groups passing through the education system in different ways?

- How does the content of adult education differ as between various groups of participants?

Adult education as a route to higher education

The Swedish education system provides several different routes from compulsory schooling to higher education. The traditional route involves theoretical upper secondary schooling immediately after compulsory elementary school, followed in turn by post-secondary education (subject, where most boys are concerned, to a

twelve-month intermission for military service). The education reforms passed in recent years, including among other things a broader basis of admission to higher studies, have resulted in an increasing number of persons with job experience embarking on higher studies.

In the following pages, various routes to higher education will be considered in terms of recruitment. What are the characteristics of the groups of individuals opting for the various routes?

We will start by defining three different routes to higher education. For purposes of comparison, moreover, we have the group of individuals which did not go in for higher education.

Group A. The people in this group have opted for the traditional route, i.e. compulsory elementary school followed immediately by upper secondary school and then - also immediately, subject to the one year's military service done by most of the boys - by higher education.

Group B. This group has completed compulsory elementary school and upper secondary school without any intermission and then completed at least one year's vocational activity before going on to higher education. (Vocational activity has been taken to include work in the home.)

Group C. This group has completed compulsory elementary school and then had at least one year's vocational employment or work in the home. Eventually these people have qualified for higher education, either through upper secondary education or else by meeting the requirements for wider admission to higher education, viz 25 years of age and at least 4 years' vocational activity.

The individual subjects cannot be placed in any of groups A, B and C unless they have started their higher education.

Group D. This is the reference group, and its members have never embarked on higher studies.

Groups A-D are schematically described in figure 1, below.

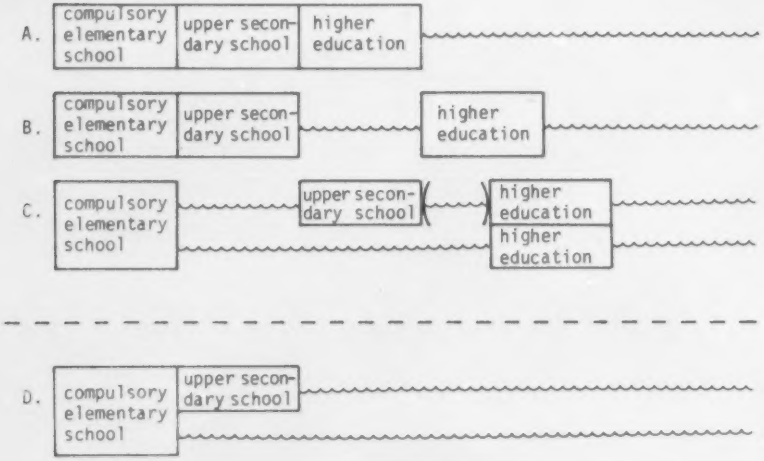

Figure 1. Various routes from elementary school to higher education. (~~~~ denotes gainful employment.)

What are the characteristics of groups A-D?

The various groups are compared below in terms of sex, social class, line of studies chosen in grade 9, paternal education, intelligence test results and the types of higher education completed by groups A-C.

Table 1. Sex. Percentages

Group \ Sex	Boys	Girls	Total (N)
A	54	46	345
B	52	48	235
C	38	62	258
D	49	51	1854
Total	49	51	2692

The social classification is based on that used earlier by the Central Bureau of Statistics (SCB) with reference to statistics concerning the Swedish electorate.

Table 2. Social class. Percentages

Group \ Social class (grade 9)	I ("high")	II	III ("low")	Total (N)
A	22	52	26	345
B	11	51	38	235
C	8	51	41	258
D	3	37	60	1854
Total	7	42	51	2692

Concerning the balance between the sexes, it is worth noting that boys have a somewhat greater tendency to pass through the education system without any intermission. Girls on the other hand preponderate in group C, i.e. the group whose members already suspend their education after elementary school and then proceed, one way or another, to higer education.

Table 2 shows that the uppermost social class (I) choose the "direct" route to a greater extent than students from social class III. The preponderance of people from social class III (manual workers) in group C may suggest that a system facilitating higher studies without the stipulation of previous theoretical studies is potentially conducive to equality. But there are problems

involved here. Kim (1978) has shown, for example, that only a few post-secondary students admitted primarily on the strength of their job experience have taken degrees or been in a position to pursue very advanced studies. Another problem which Kim points out is the rising proportion of adult students curtailing their post-secondary studies at an early stage.

There used to be a certain element of segregation in grade 9 of elementary school. Pupils planning on upper secondary school entrance took a separate line. Table 3 shows that almost all members of groups A and B took a pre-upper secondary line of elementary school, while one-third of group C took other lines in grade 9.

Table 3. Line chosen in grade 9 of elementary school. Percentages

Group \ Line	Pre-upper secondary line	Other lines	Total (N)
A	98	2	345
B	95	5	235
C	67	33	258
D	30	70	1854
Total	48	52	2692

Table 4. Highest level of paternal education. Percentages

Group \ Education	Elementary school	Folk high school	Jun. sec. school, technical college etc.	Gymnasium etc.	University etc.	Total (N)
A	53	6	15	10	16	324
B	63	6	15	6	10	212
C	70	5	17	4	4	223
D	83	5	8	2	2	1524
Total	76	5	10	4	5	2283

Table 4 shows that there is a clear connection between paternal education and the route chosen by students to higher education. Those opting for the direct

route (A) tended far more often than the members of group C to have fathers who had attended upper secondary school or received some form of higher education. Similarly, group C, compared to group A and B, is over-represented in terms of fathers whose education is confined to compulsory schooling.

Finally we can compare the various groups in terms of ability as measured in grade 9 by means of a standardized intelligence test.

Table 5. Intelligence test results (Stanine points). Percentages

Group \ Stanine-value	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total (N)
A ($\bar{X}_A$=7.0)	0	0	1	3	12	20	26	20	18	342
B ($\bar{X}_B$=6.6)	0	0	1	5	18	25	23	18	10	235
C ($\bar{X}_C$=5.3)	1	4	6	18	27	19	15	7	2	256
D ($\bar{X}_D$=4.6)	5	8	15	19	22	16	9	4	2	1808
Total ($\bar{X}_{tot}$=5.1)	4	6	11	16	21	17	13	8	4	2635

Table 5 indicates a certain shift towards higher intelligence test scores for groups A and B compared with group C.

Of the total of 838 persons making up groups A-C, 654 (78%) had completed their studies in 1977.

Table 6 shows the types of education which had been completed, with reference to the various groups.

Table 6. Higher education completed by groups A-C. Horizontal percentage

Studies completed at \ Group	A	B	C	N
Faculty of law	92	8	-	13
Arts faculty	84	7	9	105
Engineering faculty	82	9	9	43
Teacher training establishment	80	5	15	91
Medical, dental, pharmaceutical faculty	79	21	-	19
Graduate school of social science and public administration	77	10	13	30
Faculty of economics	69	22	9	23
Pre-school teacher training[1]	12	8	80	50
Nursing education	4	37	59	68
Other education	26	38	36	212
Total	50	21	29	654

As can be seen from the above table, there are distinct differences between groups A and C where prestigious courses of education are concerned. A very large proportion of the students completing the courses provided, for example, at faculties of law, engineering and medicine come from group A, i.e. the group from which students have traditionally been recruited. *Nobody* in group C has studied at a faculty of law, medicine or dentistry. Only a small number of people from group C have studied engineering or economics at post-secondary level.

It is therefore a debatable point to what extent the reforms which have increased the proportion of adult students at higher educational establishments have also led to an increase in social and economic equality. It seems as though the new groups of students at higher education establishments tend to a great extent to take courses which do not lead to the well-paid status professions.

[1] Group C includes three individuals for whom it has been difficult to tell whether the occupational activities that preceded the pre-school teacher training merely are to be regarded as the compulsory practice that is needed for admission or if it is to be regarded as regular work.

The above argument applies to those who had completed their higher education in 1977. Those who were still studying in 1977 display the same pattern of distribution between the different courses of education. Thus the same pattern applies to those who have started but not yet completed their higher studies.

The study shows that increased opportunities of university and college entrance have contributed towards social equalization, insofar as recruitment now involves a greater number of individuals who were not recruited for higher education previously. However, the data indicate that some form of tracking has occurred in that the prestigious lines include a larger proportion of group A than of group C.

The change of the occupational status over time

All education, of course, has one or more purposes. Compulsory schooling is meant to provide young persons with a platform of knowledge and skills on which to begin adult life. Education after compulsory schooling contributes to a still more auspicious starting point for the individual person's future career, especially in terms of vocational options and the chances of finding a fitting occupation.

There are many indicators of the long-term effects of education. One of the most important of them is probably the profession or occupation which the individual goes in for during adult life, cf. Hopper and Osborn, 1975, p. 151.

Knowledge of a person's vocational activity makes it possible, among other things, to ascertain his approximate earned income, working hours and social status, which of course are major determinants of his ability to control his own work and leisure.

If, therefore, it is possible to trace an individual person's vocational career over the years, one can also obtain an indication of the long-term importance to him or her of education.

The data base which has been collected for the survey group contains particulars concerning completed education and concerning current occupations or employment at several different points in time. This makes it possible to study

the development of individuals and groups over time as regards their occupational status. The occupations recorded have to be classified by some simple means, and we have adopted the modified version of Roe´s classification system (1962) employed by Husén (1969).

1 = leading position - higher education required
2 = senior clerk och equivalent; normally at least junior secondary school certificate or its equivalent required
3 = foreman or the like
4 = skilled manual worker
5 = semi-skilled manual worker
6 = unskilled worker

By way of introduction, figures will now be presented for the three social classes (I, II and III) into which the Swedish people have been divided earlier. These figures illustrate the connection between social background and the transformation of the occupational status over time. Figures 2-4 show the changes undergone by the occupational status of each group between 1968 and 1977, i.e. between the ages of about 19 and 28.

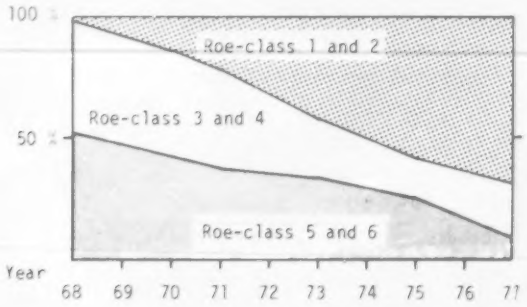

Figure 2. Change of the occupational status of pupils from social class I ("high")

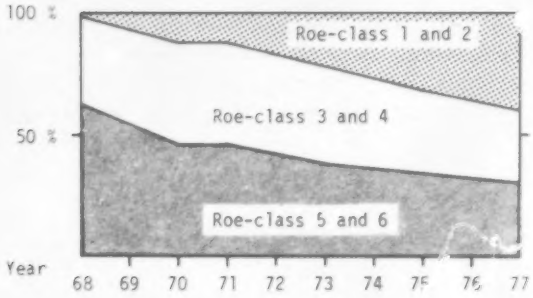

Figure 3. Change of the occupational status of pupils from social class II.

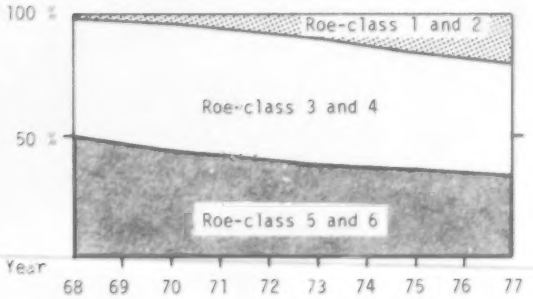

Figure 4. Change of the occupational status of pupils from social class III ("low")

The connection between social background and the change over time of the occupational status is clearly apparent from figures 2-4. In 1977, most of the people from social class I (about 70%) had high status occupations. By 1977 the proportion of low status jobs in this group had fallen to about 10%. Change in social class III is far more subdued and appears to have practically stagnated by 1977, unlike social class I.

In the argument concerning figures 2-4, no allowance has been made for the fact that the different groups have different educational levels, nor for the way in

which education is acquired. Instead these figures are mainly to be viewed as an illustration of the great importance of social antecedents as a determinant of occupational development. These figures also serve to illustrate the point that measures of allocation policy in the education sector have not yet achieved full impact as a means of securing greater social and economic equality. If they had achieved their full impact, developments would follow roughly the same pattern irrespective of social class.

In a previous section (p. 79ff) we discussed various access routes to higher education. Our three groups - A, B and C - have been described according to a number of background variables and in terms of the types of higher education received.

One essential question in this connection is whether the groups pursuing higher studies in the form of adult education, i.e. groups B and C, will eventually catch up with those who took the direct route (group A). In figure 5 the various groups are compared with regard to the change of their occupational status. The group which never embarked on higher studies, group D, has been included for the sake of comparison.

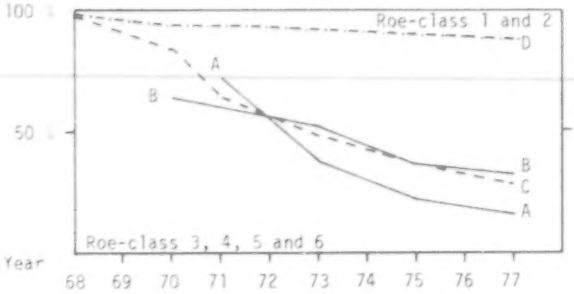

Figure 5. Change of the occupational status of groups A-D. The area above the graph lines refers to the proportion of high status occupations (Roe's classes 1 and 2). The area below the graph lines refers to the proportion of other occupations (Roe's classes 3, 4, 5 and 6).

Here we find a clear difference between those pursuing higher studies in the form of adult education (groups B and C) and those who opted for the direct

route (group A). During the latter part of the period under consideration, group A has a proportion of high status occupations about 10% greater than in the other two groups. This is well in line with the findings presented earlier (p.84), to the effect that group A tends more than the other groups to opt for prestigious courses of education. We may also note that group D - the reference group consisting of people who never embarked on higher studies - has an insignificant change of occupational status compared with the other groups.

Finally, figure 6 shows the change of occupational status among those members of groups A-C who *completed* the higher studies they had embarked on.

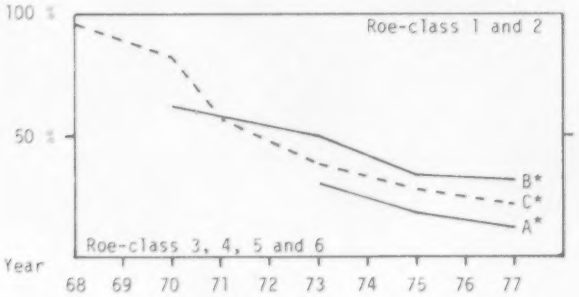

Figure 6. Change in the occupational status of the members of groups A-C who *completed* their higher education. The area above the graph lines refers to the proportion of high status occupations (Roe´s classes 1 and 2). The area below the graph lines refers to the proportion of other occupations (Roe´s classes 3, 4, 5 and 6).

This pattern of development is very similar to that presented in figure 5, though we may observe that the stipulation of completed education produces a difference between groups B and C as well. Once again, group A has the largest proportion of high status jobs from 1973 onwards.

Summing up, the group opting for the traditional direct educational route has a more favourable starting point and pattern of occupational development than the groups pursuing higher studies in the form of adult education.

Participation in adult education 1977

The postal questionnaire completed by the survey group in 1977 at the age of 28 made it possible to chart the extent to which they were participating in various kinds of adult education. Just over one person in four was receiving adult education of one kind or another. Table 7 shows the connection between participation in adult education and education completed previously.

Table 7. Completed education in relation to participation in adult education, 1977

Education completed	Proportion taking part in adult education in 1977	N
9-yr compr. school	17%	330
9-yr compr. school + continuation/vocational school	22%	1 297
9-yr compr. school + upper sec. school/university/college	36%	1 039
Total	27%	2 666

This table shows that a great many of those who participated in adult education in 1977 had received a long education already. More than twice as many adult education participants (36%) were recruited from among people who had completed their upper secondary or post-secondary education as from among those who had only completed their compulsory elementary schooling (17%). Those participating in adult education in 1977 also displayed a somewhat more favourable change of occupational status up till then than the non-participant groups, as can be seen from figures 7 and 8, below.

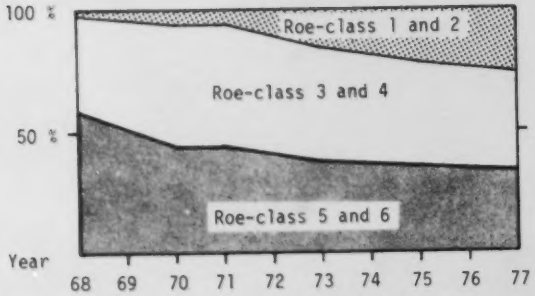

Figure 7. Change of occupational status among persons *not* participating in adult education in 1977. Numbers refer to Roe's classes (cf. p. 86).

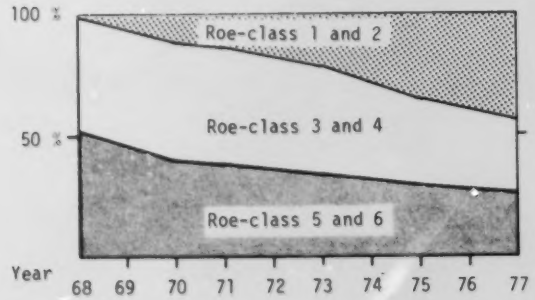

Figure 8. Change of occupational status among persons participating in adult education in 1977. Numbers refer to Roe's classes (cf. p. 86).

Thus, where occupational status is concerned we may also note that the persons participating in adult education in 1977, taken as a group, had developed more favourably up till that date than the non-participants - an observation which can be extended to imply that adult education tends to widen rather than reduce the educational, economic and social gaps in society.

We may also note that men and women participated in adult education to the same extent in 1977 (27% and 26% respectively). On the other hand, persons belonging to a "higher" social class (I) in grade 9 participated more than persons from

social class III. Participation rates here were 34% and 23% respectively. Furthermore, it transpires that persons going in for higher education, i.e. groups A, B and C (cf. p. 79) participated in adult education in 1977 to a far greater extent than persons who had never undertaken higher education. The participation rates for groups A-C were 44%, 34% and 40%, while group D's participation rate was only 20%.

The adult education offered varies a great deal in terms of both scope and content. Some educational opportunities are mainly designed to qualify the participants for working life, while others are above all concerned with providing the knowledge to open up a rewarding, meaningful leisure. Many of the available educational opportunities can serve both these purposes. Personal motives for participation are of course crucially important in determining whether or not education is regarded as a means of acquiring vocational qualifications.

Since we have already discussed the importance of adult education as a means of reducing social, economic and educational inequalities in society, it may be interesting to distinguish between the education designed to qualify the individual participants for vocational activity (investment), cf. Sohlman, 1976, pp. 249-252, and the education pursued for other reasons (consumption).

In table 8, the participation of the survey group in various forms of adult education in 1977 is related to the motives given for taking part. The educational activities attracting very small numbers of participants come last in the table, with percentages in brackets. Activities involving large numbers of "consumer" participants come at the top of the table.

Table 8. Participation in adult education in 1977, viewed in relation to reasons for taking part. Percentages.

Type of education	Consumption	Investment		Other or not readily classifiable motives	N
	Education of no importance to the individual person's vocational activity	Education needed in order to acquire a trade/retraining	Education needed in order to cope with present job/qualify for promotion		
Course or study circle arranged by an adult education association	57	2	32	9	198
Trade union education	50	2	21	27	103
General municipal adult education	40	25	28	7	53
Course arranged by employer	3	3	82	12	111
University/college studies	13	26	50	11	113
Other higher education	4	56	34	6	48
Labour market training	(-)	(56)	(39)	(5)	18
Upper secondary school	(7)	(50)	(43)	(-)	14
Folk high school	(11)	(34)	(22)	(33)	9
Vocational municipal adult education	(33)	(11)	(56)	(-)	18
Other course/education	21	13	55	11	103

(Some persons took part in more than one type of education. Hence the column totals exceed the number of adult education participants in 1977.)

All courses of education, with the exception of courses or study circles arranged by an adult education association and trade union studies, were used as investment education by more than half the participants concerned. Only a slight proportion of university or college education constitutes consumption education.

Which persons go in for adult education as an investment relating to their future vocational activity, and which persons have other reasons for participating?

Tables 9 and 10 show the various motives by sex and social background.

Table 9. Motives for participation in adult education 1977, by sex. Percentages

Sex	Adult education as consumption	Adult education as investment	Other motives, or motives not readily classifiable	N
Men	24	66	10	353
Women	35	53	12	346
Total	30	59	11	699

Table 10. Motives for participation in adult education in 1977, by social class (grade 9). Percentages

Social class (grade 9)	Adult education as consumption	Adult education as investment	Other motives, or motives not readily classifiable	N
I ("high")	16	71	13	61
II	28	62	10	330
III ("low")	35	54	11	308
Total	30	59	11	699

As can be seen from table 9, above, men tend more than women to participate in adult education as a form of investment relating to future vocational activity. On the other hand, there is almost complete similarity between the sexes in terms of education completed up to, and including, the time of the questionnaire in 1977. This state of affairs cannot be altered to any great extent by the difference revealed by table 9 in terms of the focus of adult education.

The differences of educational level existing between the various social levels will not be evened out but will, if anything, be accentuated as a result of participation in adult education in 1977. The educationally advantaged individuals from social class I make more investment use of adult education than

persons from social class III. The proportion of students from social class III going in for adult education which did not directly confer vocational qualifications - educational consumption, in other words - was almost twice the corresponding figure for social class I. The same tendency applies if the level of education completed is kept constant; the smaller the amount of education undergone previously, the more likely the person concerned is to regard participation in adult education as consumption rather than investment. At the same time some research indicates that young individuals to a greater extent take part in adult education as investment rather than consumption (Cross, 1979). When one gets older though, reasons for participation in adult education turn to be more and more reasons of consumption rather than reasons of investment. This might imply that our investment group in the future will catch up with the consumption group with reference to participation in adult education as consumption. It might also imply that our consumption group will never catch up with the investment group with reference to adult education as investment.

Interest in future studies

The postal questionnaire administered to the survey group in 1977 also served to chart their interest in future studies. The tendency thus ascertained resembles that which emerged from the survey of educational participation in 1977.

Thus proportionally a little more men than women declare an interest in future studies (61% as against 56%). Respondents from social class I are more interested than persons from social class II and III (70% as against 60% and 56% respectively). Interest in future studies rises with the level of the education already completed; 39% of the respondents who have only received nine years' elementary schooling are interested, while the corresponding figure for persons who have completed upper secondary or post-secondary education is 72%.

To an overwhelming extent, the purpose of the education in which the respondents declare interest is investment, not consumption. There is no great difference in this respect between the sexes or between social classes, nor does the level of the education previously completed appear to influence the focus of the studies in which the respondents are interested.

Finally, figures 9 and 10 show the change between 1968 and 1977 of the vocational status among the persons who in 1977 were interested in participating in

some form of educational activity during the near future and among persons who were not interested in doing so.

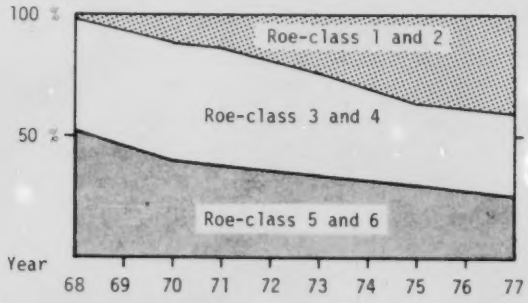

Figure 9. Change of vocational status among persons who in 1977 professed interest in participating in some form of educational activity within the near future. Figures refer to Roe's classes (cf. p. 86)

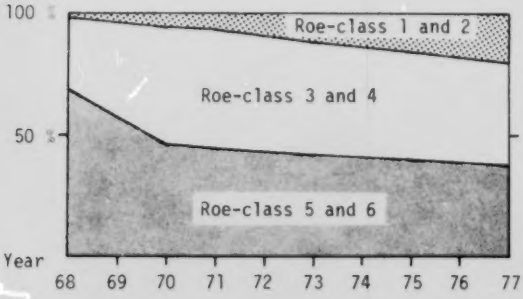

Figure 10. Change of vocational status among persons who in 1977 stated that they were not interested in participating in any form of educational activity during the near future. Figures refer to Roe's classes (cf. p. 86)

We find that, taken as a group, the persons wishing to participate in future educational activities have undergone a more favourable development in terms of vocational status than those who are not interested. This tendency, like that already pointed out concerning the development of vocational status among participants and non-participants in adult education in 1977, suggests that the respondents professing interest in future educational activities are already in a favoured position. Thus it is a debatable point whether their educational

interest and any future educational activity on their part will reduce or widen the educational gaps in society. There is nothing in this study to suggest that a reduction will be the likeliest result.

Final comments

The study shows that increased opportunities of university and college entrance have contributed towards social equalization, i.e. a greater number of individuals who were not recruited for higher education previously, now are being recruited. On the other hand the study indicates that the prestigious lines recruit their participants mostly from the "traditional" group (A, cf. p. 79). This probably means that the occupational status of group A will exceed that of group C in the future. Group C consists to a higher extent of girls than of boys and of students from a lower social class (cf. p. 83). It is therefore probable that increased opportunities of access to higher education are not enough if educational equality is the aim. One must also notice that the great majority of individuals (group D) do not participate in higher education at all, even if opportunities to start higher education have increased.

The postal questionnaire in 1977 made it possible to chart the participation in different adult education activities on that occasion. More than twice as many adult education participants were recruited from among people who previously had completed quite long education as from among those who had only completed their compulsory schooling. In other words: Participants in adult education are to a great extent people with previously completed long education. It is also evident that well-educated people more often take part in adult education which is to be considered as an investment education rather than consumption (cf. p. 94 f.) Furthermore it is to be noticed that individuals from social class I ("high") use adult education as an investment to a greater extent than persons from social class III ("low").

Summing up, the study shows that participation in adult education is most frequent in educationally privileged groups. Those who participate have already through their upbringing and formal schooling gained a cultural capital for the future and participation in adult education further increases this capital. On the other hand it is evident that participation in adult education increases the general level of education even if the educationally privileged increase their

level more than do other participants.

Finally a few words on the continuation of the research based on the data bank considered in this paper. Individual patterns of development will be investigated regarding occupational and educational status. Different patterns will then be related to income, attitudes towards present occupation and other variables connected with adult life. Special interest will be devoted to those who failed to complete their participation in adult education. It is also probable that efforts will be made to administer another questionnaire within the next five years in order to receive more "final" information about the individuals' positions in society concerning occupational, economic and social status. As educational reforms of various importance are carried out quite often, it is important to have continuous possibilities to evaluate them. A data bank like the one this paper is based on can, among other things, help to supply information on the effects of different reforms. It is therefore of great interest to maintain the data bank as intact as possible for future use.

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Appendix A

Description of the data bank on which this paper is based:

Time of collection (Age of subjects)	Method of collection	General description of the data collected
1965-66 (15-17)	Data from registers of various kinds, e.g. records of marks.	Sex, social class, lines chosen in grades 7, 8 and 9. Marks for spring term, grade 9. Current activities, autumn 1966 (education, employment etc.)
1966 (grade 9) (16-17)	Tests	Scores in Swedish, English, physics, chemistry and social subjects. Intelligence tests.
1966 (grade 9) (16-17)	Questionnaire	Parental schooling. Attitude to various school subjects. Plans on leaving school. Vocational plans.
1968 (18-19)	Questionnaire	Current educational and vocational activities. Future plans regarding occupation and education.
1970 (20-21)	Questionnaire	Current educational and vocational activities. Education completed. Plans regarding occupation and education. Attitude to the compulsory elementary schooling completed four years previously.
1977 (27-28)	Register data	Extracts from the SCB population register. Income, address, marital status.
1977 (27-28)	Questionnaire	Current educational and vocational activities. Education completed. Occupations 1971-1977. Attitude to present work. Attitude, with reference to current situation, to education completed. Discontinued studies. Leisure activities. Educational and vocational plans. Perceived impediments to education

The above is no more than a rough description of the total data base, which comprises a total of some 350 variables.

(a) Comparison of respondents and non-respondents in the 1977 questionnaire study and
(b) table of dropout rates for the various questionnaires.

(a) Comparison of respondents (77%) and non-respondents (23%) in the 1977 questionnaire study (horizontal percentages):

Sex	Men	Women
non-respondents	60	40
respondents	49	51

Social class in grade 9	I ("high")	II	III ("low")
non-respondents	7	34	58
respondents	7	42	52

Line chosen in grade 9	Pre-upper sec. school	Others
non-respondents	37	63
respondents	48	52

Intelligence test scores	$<(\bar{X}_{tot}-S)$	$\bar{X}_{tot}\pm S)$	$>(\bar{X}_{tot}+S)$
non-respondents ($\bar{X}_{nr}$=44.2)	21	67	12
respondents ($\bar{X}_{r}$=46.9)	16	67	17

Marks for Swedish in grade 9	1	2	3	4	5
non-respondents ($\bar{X}_{nr}$=2.9)	5	28	42	20	5
respondents ($\bar{X}_{r}$=3.1)	3	20	44	26	7

We may conclude from this comparison that the non-respondents, compared with the respondents, include a larger proportion of men, a larger proportion of people from social class III, and a smaller proportion of students who opted for the pre-upper secondary school line in grade 9 of elementary school. Furthermore, the non-respondents did slightly less well than the respondents in the intelligence test and in Swedish.

It is hard to judge the extent to which the structure of the drop-out distorts the results presented. The above comparison conveys only a general picture of the characteristics of the drop-out. One would, of course, like to find relevant variables for a comparison in connection with every presentation of findings, but this has not been possible in the present investigation because complete information on the survey population is only available for certain variables (including those contained by the comparison). This problem, of course, affects the majority of postal questionnaire surveys.

The structure of the drop-out is uniform from one questionnaire to another, and the comparison for the non-response in the 1977 questionnaire is valid on the whole for the non-response in the previous questionnaire studies as well.

(b) In longitudinal studies of the kind which we are now considering, things are complicated by one's having to keep tabs on several drop-out groups. Different people reply to different questionnaires. The following table illustrates the size of the various drop-outs over time which have to be taken into consideration in the present study when interpreting the results obtained.

Table of response (R) and non-response (NR) over time

1968 questionnaire (response = 86.4%)	1970 questionnaire (response = 81.3%)	1977 questionnaire (response = 76.5%)	N	%
NR	NR	NR	147	4.2
R	NR	NR	205	5.8
NR	R	NR	66	1.9
NR	NR	R	106	3.0
R	R	NR	412	11.7
R	NR	R	200	5.7
NR	R	R	159	4.5
R	R	R	2229	63.3
			3524	100%

The base number 3 524 refers to the number of persons we know to have received the 1977 questionnaire. The hundred and more persons who are missing compared with the 3 650 members of the original group have either died or emigrated or are otherwise untraceable. The table shows that 4.2% did not reply to any of the questionnaires, 10.7% participated once, 21.9% participated twice and 63.3% replied to all the questionnaires.

This means that there is complete longitudinality for about two-thirds of the original group. In comparisons over time, the questionnaires can be studied in pairs, which serves to reduce the drop-out somewhat; cf the table above.

Finally, we may observe that the disadvantages entailed by a longitudinal design in terms of drop-out are often counterbalanced by the superior precision of the information obtained. For example, errors of recollection are more common when data are collected retrospectively.

DROP-OUT IN MUNICIPAL ADULT SCHOOLS IN THE CONTEXT OF ALLOCATION POLICY

Lena Borgström

The past decade in Sweden has seen a rapid growth of interest in adult education. A reform of this sector in 1968 made it possible for adults to receive, free of charge, instruction corresponding to the curricula for youth education; the system thus established is termed municipal adult education.

Drop-outs are one of the major problems affecting adult education, and municipal adult education is no exception. The findings on this subject which I shall be presenting in this article come from a project aimed at evaluating municipal adult education in certain respects and concentrating particularly on the problem of drop-outs. Before we go on to the actual project, however, I should start by outlining the municipal adult education system, the background against which it was established, its aims and the pattern of its development so far.

A short history of municipal adult education in Sweden

Briefly, the background to the 1968 reform of adult education was as follows (see also Rubenson's article above).

There have been several reforms of the Swedish school system during the present century. The reform process has started from the bottom and worked upwards. The old selective school system has been superseded by a nine-year comprehensive elementary school in which all pupils receive the same instruction up to and including their sixth year of school. A certain amount of differentiation takes place during the last three years via optional subjects and a choice of augmented courses of study in certain theoretical subjects. The old academic gymnasium has been superseded by an integrated upper secondary school incorporating both two or three-year as well as four-year theoretical lines and two-year vocational ones. Today about eighty per cent of elementary school-leavers go on to upper secondary school.

The initiative leading to the reform of adult education came from the Government Commission appointed during the 1960s to investigate the content and organization of upper secondary education. This came after a rapid expansion of the school system, with progressively larger proportions of each annual cohort receiving education, both compulsory and voluntary. Labour force surveys and forecasts indicated that this educational interest on the part of young persons was matched by heavy demand for skilled labour among the majority of prospective employers of upper secondary school-leavers. Emphasis was laid on the crucial importance of education as a factor of national growth and development. Developments in the labour market were characterized by structural change and rapid technological progress. It was clear that in a situation of this kind education also had an important part to play as a means of enabling adults to adjust to the changes thus occurring in working life. A rise in general educational standards would facilitate retraining and further education and would thus be conducive to the more efficient deployment of a limited supply of labour.

Given this situation, it was essential to exploit the reserve of talent which must exist among the labour force, in the form of persons who were capable of assimilating upper secondary education but who had been prevented by the inadequacy of educational resources from doing so when they were younger. In 1963 the Upper Secondary Schools Commission estimated this educational reserve at about 180 000 persons.

There was no longer any novelty attached to adult education as such. The question of a high school for adults had already been raised by the 1940 Schools Commission set up to investigate the organization of the school system. The proposals put forward by the Schools Commission led to the establishment of a national school for adults in 1956.

By this time a number of evening schools had started, usually under the auspices of adult education associations. The arguments in favour of heavier investment in adult education were reiterated in a report presented by the Commission on Social Benefits for Students in 1962. Ideological considerations now began to appear when reference was made to "strong arguments of justice .. in favour of people being given the opportunity of education denied them in younger years" (SOU 1962:5). A second national school for adults was founded in 1962.

The Upper Secondary Schools Commission, whose investigations were started in 1960, acted on its own initiative in proposing a public scheme of adult education. This new scheme was primarily envisaged for the benefit of people who had wanted to change their course of studies during youth education but had been prevented from doing so by the inflexibilities of the system. Another important group which the Commission had in mind was people who had attended upper secondary school previously but who, for one reason or another, needed to improve or augment the education thus received. Adult education was also to provide persons who had come straight into working life on completion of their compulsory schooling with subsequent opportunities of "receiving a form of upper secondary schooling which they were capable of completing."

The view was taken that upper secondary education should be the prime concern of an adult educational establishment. Elementary education should also be provided, however, primarily for persons needing to augment their basic education in order to pursue higher studies successfully.

The adult education reform passed in 1968 made the municipalities the sponsors for a form of adult education to be conducted in accordance with the elementary school, upper secondary school and vocational school curricula, but compared with youth education, the normal time schedules for adult implied a reduction by between 30 and 70 per cent. The aggregate resources of each municipality - in terms of facilities, teaching materials and teaching staff - were to be made available for adult education purposes.

The proposed reform (Govt. Bill Prop. 1967:85) was heavily criticized in many quarters. The popular education organizations took the view that many of the duties entrusted to the adult high schools could have been more economically and flexibly discharged by adult education associations and folk high schools, with their long experience of adult education. Also the National Board of Education (NBE) was critical on several counts.

The Government Bill also came under heavy criticism from the non-socialist parties on the grounds that it was incomplete and that no consideration had been given to the industrial policy and to the ability of Swedish enterprise to compete on the international plane. The Government Bill, they argued, was fettered by a traditional scholastic mentality.

Developments following the reform of adult education

Developments after the reform were influenced by the big trade unions, especially LO (the blue collar union) and TCO (the white collar union group). Among other things, LO argued from a research (LOVUX, 1969) showing that persons with a longer formal education had higher participation rates in adult education than persons with shorter formal education. LO heavily critized developments that had been dominant in the past. They argued that adult education in the future would have concentrate to a much greater extent on bridging the educational gap between the generations.

In the Government Bills presented after 1968 one finds that adult education is justified on expressly ideological grounds and that these can be related to the overriding educational goals of the community. A clearly formulated allocation - and equality goal appeared for the first time in connection with adult education in the 1970.35 Government Bill. The danger emphasised is that the educational gap may widen further if those who have the poorest education are not given a real chance to use the range of provision. In view of this possibility society's efforts in the adult education area must be increased.

This involved a shift of target group. The emphasis now changed from those who were educationally talented but had not previously had the opportunity of studying and those who needed to improve or augment their educational qualifications to those whose previous schooling had been of the briefest duration. This group of "under-educated" or "short-term educated" persons, usually (and still, for the time being) taken to comprise people who had received up to eight years' elementary schooling, was considered in need of further education. But the change of target group was unaccompanied by any change in the content or design of teaching.

The establishment of municipal adult education was followed by a heavy expansion. During the first year of "Komvux" (i.e. municipal adult education), about 11 400 students attended subject courses at elementary school level, some 26 000 attended upper secondary school courses and another 69 900 or so attended vocational courses. Student figures stagnated after the first few years, but a further increase has occurred since 1975. In the autumn term of 1976, about 43 000 students attended elementary school courses, about 68 500 attended upper secondary school courses and about 52 400 attended vocational courses. Most Komvux students are women, the figure for 1976 being 69 per cent. This predomi-

nance is particularly noticeable in elementary school courses. The following table shows the previous schooling of students in the spring term of 1979.

Table 1. Newly enrolled Komvux students, week 10, spring term 1979, by study route and previous education. Percentages.

Complete previous education	Komvux study route			
	Elementary school courses	Upper sec. school courses 2-yr lines	3-yr lines	Vocational courses
Upper sec. ed.: 2-yr theoretical lines, 3-yr/4-yr lines or equivalent and post-sec. education	6	13	46	28
Upper sec. ed.: 2-yr vocational lines and other vocational ed.	7	13	8	12
Elementary school as per 1962 (9g) or 1969 curriculum, general junior secondary school or equivalent	16	51	29	25
Elementary school (not 9g), practical junior sec. school or equivalent, and 8-yr elementary school	28	13	6	13
Elementary schooling: 7 yrs or less	27	5	4	19
Foreign ed.	16	5	7	3
Total no. students	100	100	100	100

Source: Statistiska meddelanden U 1979:20.

As can be seen from the above table, just over half (55 %) of the newly enrolled students at elementary school level have had either less than nine years' previous schooling or else received a nine-year course of education not corresponding to a complete elementary school leaving certificate. The overwhelming majority of students taking the two and three-year upper secondary courses had received at least nine years' elementary schooling (see also Olofsson's article in this volume, table 7).

The number of students with eight years' or less previous elementary schooling rose somewhat in the elementary school courses during the early years but has declined in recent years despite efforts made to recruit students from this group.

Another development trend in the seventies was the rise in the numbers of day students. Municipal adult education was originally intended - mainly for economic reasons - as part-time education for leisure hours. More and more day courses have been introduced, however, partly because of the rising number of students whose education is being financed by the Labour Market Administration as a retraining measure (usually on account of their being unemployed or in danger of unemployment), and also because an Educational Leave Act was passed in 1975, followed in 1976 by a scheme of study assistance for certain adults whose previous schooling had been of brief duration. As a result, more students are now studying full time or half time than ever before.

Premises of the GRUV project

By the end of the sixties the education explosion that had dominated the decade, when it had been important to utilize the educational reserve, had subsided. Moreover, the connection between economic growth and education had been called into question towards the close of this period. Increasing prominence was given to the aim of achieving greater equality, and education was regarded as an important means to this end (cf. Kogan (1977), who has made an interesting analysis of the complex and conflicting factors, which combined to create educational policies in Britain between 1960 and 1974).

It was predominantly the influence exerted by the major union organizations (LO and TCO), by the Social Democratic Party and by the Workers' Educational Association (ABF) which led to the redirection of adult education policy as manifested in the Adult Education Bill presented by the Government in 1970. In that Bill, adult education was described as a means of transforming established society in favour of greater equality. Adult education thus became an instrument of allocation policy. During the 1970s the allocatory approach was reinforced at the expense of the service approach.

The concrete measures accompanying this change of course were principally aimed at improving the recruitment of under-educated persons, above all through experiments with outreach activities at workplaces and in housing areas but also through study subsidies. The measures taken within the school system involved giving priority to admissions to elementary school courses, while restrictions were placed on the expansion of courses at upper secondary level. School resources for auxiliary instruction and educational counselling were augmented somewhat, but no changes were made to the content and design of the actual courses.

Expressed in the terms employed by Holmes (1956), the change of policy which now occurred can be viewed as a change in the normative pattern, with the institutional pattern remaining practically unaltered. But, as Holmes points out, new norms rarely, if ever, become effective unless accompanied by institutional innovations. In other words normative innovations are only successful when accompanied by effective organization.

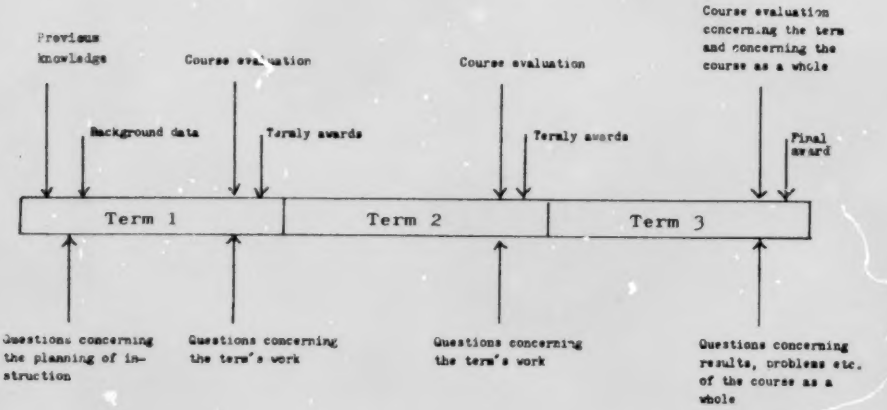
It was against this background that the GRUV project (Elementary School Studies for Adults) came into being. The purpose of the project was to evaluate the benefits of municipal adult education to persons with a short-term formal education, the difficulties encountered by these students and the need for changes. One of the aims of the project was to shed light on the drop-out problem, and I propose to look at this problem in the present paper as it came to be the principal topic of inquiry in the whole project, which in turn was due to the fact that most of the students included in the study group dropped out sooner or later as the course proceeded.

First of all, here is a brief description of the project.

Strategy and implementation

The project was arranged in the form of a follow-up study in which we observed a number of courses from beginning to end, continuously canvassing data from teachers and students. The study group comprised students taking English, mathematics and Swedish courses, these being the municipal adult education (Komvux) courses attracting the largest numbers of participants. The investigation covered all courses in these subjects beginning during the evenings as

part of Komvux in Stockholm (at ten different adult high schools) for a period of two terms. All the courses were at elementary school level, because these are the courses attracting the majority of under-educated persons. Most of the courses took three terms to complete. The figure below illustrates the process of data collection.


Data from and concerning course participants
Previous knowledge
Background data
Course evaluation
Termly awards
Course evaluation
Termly awards
Course evaluation concerning the term and concerning the course as a whole
Final award
Term 1
Term 2
Term 3
Questions concerning the planning of instruction
Questions concerning the term's work
Questions concerning the term's work
Questions concerning results, problems etc. of the course as a whole
Particulars supplied by teachers

Continuous recording of drop-outs.

Questionnaires and personal interviews were the main methods employed. The project took five years to complete, ending in 1978. Findings were continuously presented in interim reports, and a concise report in English (Elementary School Studies for Adults, 1979) has also been issued.

Description of the participant group

Background data were collected for 1 579 participants, over 70 per cent of whom were taking English. Immigrants comprised 21 per cent of the total survey population and were mostly taking the Swedish course. Women comprised 73 per cent

and men 27 per cent of the entire material. The median age of the participants was 38, the women as a rule being slightly older than the men and the immigrants considerably younger than the Swedish participants. The participants' previous schooling is illustrated in table 2, which has been confined to the Swedish participants, owing to the difficulties involved in classifying the educational qualifications of the immigrant participants.

Table 2. Participants, by previous schooling

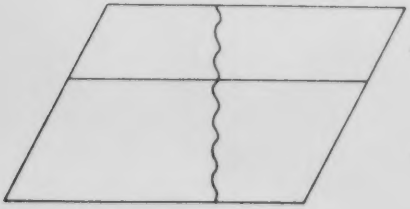
Schooling	Percentages (N=1 255)
Elementary school, 6-7 years	44
Elementary school, 8 years	29
Folk high school	5
Comprehensive elementary school	9
Junior secondary school, girls' high school, discontinued studies	12
Continuation school, gymnasium, discontinued studies	1
Total	100

As can be seen from this table, nearly three-quarters of all the Swedish participants had only received six, seven or eight years' elementary schooling and could therefore be classified as under-educated.

Komvux courses offer formal qualifications and are geared to the same curricula as youth education. The participants, however, are seldom bent on acquiring formal educational qualifications. The majority state at the beginning of the course that they are studying in order to improve their general education. Other powerful motives are those of satisfying one's educational interests and meeting more people. The majority have not studied at adult high school before, though more than half the participants have had experience of courses of other kinds. More than half the students completing the course believe that the merits thus acquired will come in useful. It is possible that the participants are led by uncertainty regarding their ability to complete the course to state initially that they are studying for other reasons than a desire for formal qualifications, whereas many of them in fact are hoping that their studies will prove to be of practical importance.

This short summary of the distinguishing characteristics of the participant group shows that where these courses are concerned, Komvux appears to have been very successful in recruiting the group which is considered most in need of its services, namely the under-educated.

The term "under-educated" refers to formal education. The Bills referring to this group as the group most in need of further education have not discussed whether persons who are under-educated in the formal sense are also under-educated in real terms. Broström and Ekeroth (1977) discuss under-educated persons in terms of economic, political and cultural resources. It is the persons who are disadvantaged in these respects, i.e. excluded and inactive persons, who should constitute the real target group for adult education measures. The writers maintain that the under-educated persons recruited for adult education are not typical of the group because they tend to a more than average extent to be already possessed of the qualities or resources which adult education is designed to create. The outreach activities carried out in Sweden have seldom reached any further than this group, because the genuinely disadvantaged are so much more difficult to recruit. This approach has been adopted and illustrated by means of the following diagram in a report published recently by the Government Committee which is at present engaged in a review of municipal adult education.



(SOU 1979:92)

The participant group in the GRUV project is probably a relatively advantaged group. The members regard education as a means of satisfying their needs, and they have applied for the course of their own volition, usually out of educa-

tional interest. Interviews with the participants have shown, however, that behind the professed motives there are often feelings of inferiority and inadequacy on account of not knowing enough English, for example. If participation in courses can help to enhance the self-esteem of these students, their education must be said to achieved an important subsidiary purpose. Where this group is concerned, greater self-confidence and self-esteem must be considered a necessary precondition for the attainability of several of the aims of adult education.

Drop-outs

Most previous studies of drop-outs have recorded drop-outs for one term. Since the groups in the GRUV project have been followed for the duration of the courses (usually three terms), this has made it possible for drop-outs to be recorded on a cumulative basis and for an indication thus to be obtained of the total drop-out rate.

Definition of terms

We employed the following definition of drop-out students. For the purposes of the GRUV project, drop-out students are participants who have started a course (i.e. attended at least one lesson) but have discontinued their studies before the conclusion of the course.

This definition does not preclude the resumption or continuation of studies during a subsequent term. It is also possible for a participant who has dropped out of an English course, for example, and thus been classified as a drop-out English student, to complete one or more other courses taken at the same time.

The drop-out rate

The following tables show the drop-out rates of the courses included in this project. For each subject, our investigation included all evening courses starting in Stockholm during two consecutive terms. The percentages in table 3 are cumulative and are based on the numbers of students joining each course in the first term. The table does not include students joining the course in the second or third term.

Table 3. Drop-out frequencies among students taking evening courses in English, mathematics and Swedish (percentages)

Type of course	No. groups	Dropouts (%)						Total compl. the course (%)
		During 1st term	Between 1st and 2nd terms	During 2nd terms	Between 2nd and 3rd terms	During 3rd term	Total drop-out	
English[1] beginners' course, (N=446)	22	20	19	12	12	6	69	31
Continuation course, 3 terms (N=487)	28	26	21	8	11	9	75	25
Mathematics[2], 3 terms (N=249)	17	35	17	7	6	3	68	32
Swedish[3], 2 terms (N=284)	17	37	13	14			64	36

1) These courses started in the autumn term 1973 and spring term 1974.
2) " " " " " " " 1974 " " " 1975.
3) " " " " " " " 1975 " " " 1976.

In all three subjects, roughly two-thirds or more of the students starting the course failed to complete it. The English courses, especially the three-term elementary school courses, had the highest drop-out rates. Like the elementary school mathematics and Swedish courses, these courses involve two lessons weekly. The three-term English beginners' course has only one lesson per week. But our findings do not show that there are fewer drop-outs from the "slower" courses.

In all courses, the majority of drop-outs occur during the first term. More than a third of the mathematics and Swedish students dropped out during this term, and at the beginning of the second term only about half the original students were still on the course.

Apart from drop-outs during the first term, especially at the beginning of the course, many students also curtail their studies between terms. This applies particularly to the first holiday, i.e. between the first and second terms of the course. In the case of the courses we investigated, the first holiday came either in the summer or at Christmas. More students dropped out during the summer holidays than during the Christmas holidays, which is understandable in view of the long duration of the former. The results show that a large group of

students fail, for various reasons, to return to their courses after school holidays. Therefore prior to the commencement of a new term, there is a need for increased effort to 'recover' previous participants.

Immigrants make up a large contingent of the students taking the courses covered by this project: 17 per cent of the English students, 13 per cent of the mathematics students and 48 per cent of the Swedish students.

The immigrants taking English and Swedish were sufficiently numerous for certain special studies to be undertaken. Among other things, we investigated drop-out rates among immigrant students.

The immigrant pupils taking the English course have drop-out rates similar to those of the Swedish students. On the other hand there is a clear difference between the immigrants and Swedish students taking Swedish. The immigrant students have the highest drop-out rates in these courses, about four-fifths of them having curtailed their studies as against roughly two-fifths of the Swedish participants.

Reasons for dropping out

Related research

Previous research into drop-outs, undertaken with the aim of plotting causes, has often resulted in an enumeration of causes of drop-outs. These causes have been of two principal kinds:

1. Factors connected with the participants' external environment (working hours, changes at work, travelling times, family circumstances etc)

2. Factors relating to the participant himself, e.g. lack of previous knowledge, insufficient self-confidence.

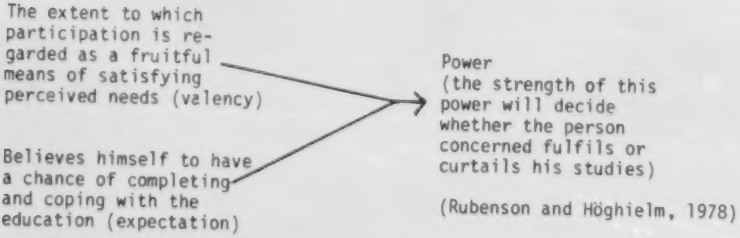
There has been very little theoretical development in this field.

Boshier (1973) has attempted to construct a theoretical model relating drop-outs to the type of background motive involved. Boshier maintains that the motives of

drop-out students are often rooted in an experience of insufficiency or a situation of deficiency. Those who complete their studies tend more often to have embarked on them because they want to develop their personalities. From the very outset, the feelings of insufficiency entertained by the drop-out students make them particularly sensitive as regards relations between themselves and the teacher, the other members of the group or the course as such.

One of the weaknesses of a number of previous studies and models is their lack of connection with educational reality, i.e. what goes on in the teaching situation. Another weakness of many previous studies is that they suggest that drop-outs are due to individual factors, whereas more recent research indicates that drop-outs ought instead to be regarded as the result of combinations of factors.

For example, the expectation valency theory developed by Rubenson (1976). This theory is based primarily on the theories of Lewin and Tolman and puts more emphasis on situational factors. Briefly, this theory assumes that a person's choice of activities constitutes a product of the value he attaches to the result of his actions and of his expectations of being able to carry out the action in question. Rubenson and Höghielm (1978) have applied the expectation valency theory to drop-outs from adult education. A simplified explanation of drop-outs could thus be constructed as follows:


The extent to which participation is regarded as a fruitful means of satisfying perceived needs (valency)
Believes himself to have a chance of completing and coping with the education (expectation)
Power
(the strength of this power will decide whether the person concerned fulfils or curtails his studies)

(Rubenson and Höghielm, 1978)

This model implies that the strength of the participant's power to go on studying is a function of the product of valency and expectation, i.e. the value of participation as a means of catering for certain needs and expectations of succeeding in studies. If valency or expectation should fall to zero, power to participate will do the same, resulting in a drop-out.

A previous study undertaken at the Stockholm Pedagogical Centre (Borgström) et al., 1970) concerned drop-outs from municipal adult high schools in Stockholm. This study was aimed at plotting the causes of drop-outs with the aid of telephone interviews. The causes which were identified were above all connected with the fact of the participants studying and also being gainfully employed. Over a third of the drop-out students stated that they had left their courses on account of lack of time and energy due to their jobs.

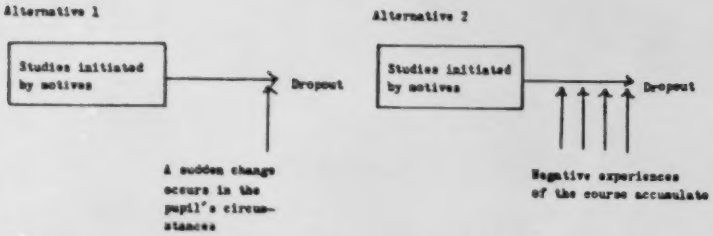
This finding gave food for thought. The majority of participants were gainfully employed. Some of them, indicated that they discontinued their studies because of the difficulty of combining these two activities, while others did not.

What other contributory factors could have been involved here? How important was subjective experience of the actual teaching situation, for example? To try and find the answers to these question, we interviewed a number of drop-out students in the course of the GRUV project. We felt that, in order to explore the causes of drop-outs as accurately as possible, a relationship of confidence needed to be established between the drop-out student and the person asking the question, and the interviews were therefore conducted personally, usually in the students' homes. These interviews were fairly openended, the aim being for the interviewees to experience them more as relaxed conversations than interrogations.

Results of the interview survey

In the preceding section we saw that roughly two-thirds of the survey population withdrew before the course was concluded. The reasons for these drop-outs are, of course, a matter of great interest. The drop-out problem was raised both in teacher surveys and in course evaluations. The following section is a general presentation of the results obtained from interviews of participants who have discontinued their studies.

A total of 115 drop-outs from all three subjects were interviewed. The interviews support the theory that dropping out is seldom a simple phenomenon and should instead be regarded as the result of several factors combined. A synthesis of conditions helping to produce drop-outs shows that the dominant factors are those connected with experience of the teaching situation. The following figure represents a brief summary of the information yielded by the interviews.



In the first instance, a sudden change occurs in the pupil's circumstances - illness or migration, for example - and may force him or her to give up studying. Students dropping out in this way are clearly positive as a rule towards most things connected with the teaching and only leave because of outward impediments.

The other pattern follows a more gradual path whereby, after several negative experiences of the course, the student leaves. Often, however, this curtailment occurs in connection with, say, illness, and the latter is given as the reason for leaving. If we were to accept the stated reason at its face value in these cases, we would obtain a false picture of the causal relationship. It seems more accurate to say that the external cause referred to in cases, of this kind is the factor triggering off a drop-out. But the withdrawal has probably been planned for a longer or shorter period previously or has existed at the back of the student's mind. The student obtains an outwardly acceptable and neutral reason for leaving, although the true causes have in fact materialized earlier.

The interviews revealed cases, for example, where the students expected things to improve in the second term. When this proved not to be the case, the student left after only a few lessons. There are other cases where the first written test of the second term was the triggering factor.

Most of the interviews proved to be consistent with the second of our drop-out patterns. Some of the negative experiences include the following.

A very large proportion of the interviewees, particularly those who had been taking English and mathematics, had difficulty in keeping up. This is revealed in various ways by the interviews. Many of them felt that the rate of progress

was too fast for them to be able to learn anything. Some of them had difficulty in asserting themselves in relation to the other members of the group, whom they regarded as much cleverer than themselves. Others had a feeling that the teacher never asked them any questions because they were less clever than the others.

The interviews show that the teacher is an important factor determining the satisfaction of individual members of the group. Some pupils had a definitely negative impression of the teacher and left the course for this reason. Sometimes the teacher was viewed in this negative light because he treated the students like children or only put questions to the cleverest ones. There are many cases where changes of teacher had such a negative impact that students left for this reason.

The interviews also show that students who are a little older than the rest of the group and who are unaccustomed to studying are particularly sensitive to a number of factors. They felt uneasy and nervous when lessons approached, especially if they had not had time to do their homework properly. Many of them were also afraid of having to speak in front of the rest of the group.

Illness is a common cause of drop-outs. Although this is sometimes just an excuse for leaving, it is clear that a student who has missed only a couple of lessons can often have great difficulty in continuing, because the working pace seems so fast as to make it impossible to catch up. A strikingly small number of the persons interviewed had been offered or had even known about the chance of supplementary instruction[1)] after a period of absence. It also seems to be unusual for absent students to be contacted by somebody from their school.

Lack of contact within the group has been a problem to many students. This applies particularly to immigrant students, who had hoped to get to know people via the course. One student left mainly because of his financial worries. He thought that he might have been able to continue if he had somebody in the group to talk to about these matters.

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1) Every school receives financial aid to arrange supplementary instruction for students who need it, e.g. students who have been absent from courses.

Many of the interviewees suggested using group work as a means of getting to know each other. In other cases, group work had been practised and had made a positive impression. In one case, however, it was a contributory cause of a drop-out, because the student in question (an immigrant woman) found it difficult to talk in the group.

The group taking Swedish comprised roughly equal numbers of immigrants and Swedes, but the immigrant students had a very high drop-out rate. Most of the teaching groups included both Swedes and immigrants to begin with. The immigrants varied a great deal in their initial command of Swedish. About half of them had previously attended a Swedish language course.

The teacher interviews showed that several groups had experienced great difficulties due to the presence of immigrants. Often this was due to the immigrants' inadequate knowledge of the Swedish language, but another reason was that the needs and expectations of the immigrants concerning the course differed from those of the Swedish participants. These difficulties were also reflected in the interviews of immigrant drop-out students.

Most of the immigrants started the course in order to practise their Swedish - they wanted to be able to read and write Swedish better. Often their expectations were disappointed because relatively little time during lessons was devoted to written exercises and they did not get the chance of talking as much as they would have liked either. Instead, lessons were devoted to grammar, which was the main thing that the Swedes wanted to learn.

The interviews point to two principal causes of drop-outs among immigrant students in cases where they have not been forced to give up a course because of problems connected with their finances, their jobs or their families.

1. They left in disappointment at not having the opportunity of learning what they wanted to learn.

2. They left because the course was excessively difficult in relation to their previous knowledge of the Swedish language.

In both cases they derived very little benefit from the course. Some of the Swedish students interviewed had a negative impression of the immigrants in the group because they were hard to understand or because the teacher had to spend too much time explaining things to them which were self-evident to the Swedes.

Follow-up of drop-out students

For the purposes of this project we have defined drop-out students as students curtailing their studies during the course. Students merely changing groups in order to attend lessons at different times or at a different level in Stockholm Municipal adult high schools have not been classified as drop-out students.

The drop-out figures presented in this project have been criticized, partly on the grounds that many drop-outs are not really drop-outs at all, since the students merely suspend their studies in a subject for a time, resuming them one or two terms later. In order to investigate this point further, we followed up the students discontinuing their mathematics studies between the autumn term 1974 and the autumn term 1975, together with Swedish students who dropped out between the autumn term 1975 and the spring term 1976. This follow-up was performed with the aid of the data register kept of students attending adult high schools in Stockholm, which includes all students commencing studies under the aegis of Municipal adult education.

Altogether the follow-up covered the 138 students who left the mathematics course and the 101 students who left the Swedish course in the first round of the study. We followed these students for four terms after they dropped out. The results are presented in the following tables, which only show whether the students returned to a mathematics or Swedish course, as the case may be. (That is, some may have enrolled in other types of courses.) Some of them returned only to drop-out again.

Table 5. Results of a follow-up of drop-out students of mathematics (Number)

Dropouts	Resumed studies after				Had not resumed studies after 4 terms
	1 term	2 terms	3 terms	4 terms	
During 1st term, aut. t. 1975 (N=38)	3	-	1	1	33
Between 1st and 2nd terms (N=20)	6	3	-	-	11
During 2nd term, spr. t. 1975 (N=30)	1	3	2	2	22
Between 2nd and 3rd terms (N=21)	1	1	1	2	16
During 3rd term, aut. t. 1975 (N=29)	7	-	2	-	20
Total (N=138)	18	7	6	5	102

Table 6. Results of a follow-up of drop-out students of Swedish (Number)

Dropouts	Resumed studies after				Had not resumed studies after 4 terms
	1 term	2 terms	3 terms	4 terms	
During 1st term, aut. t. 1975 (N=54)	6	3	1	1	43
Between 1st and 2nd terms (N=28)	5	2	1	-	20
During 2nd term, spr. t. 1976 (N=19)	2	-	1	-	16
Total (N=101)	13	5	3	1	79

Table 5 shows that roughly a quarter of the students who dropped out of the mathematics course returned to a new mathematics course within four terms afterwards. The corresponding figure for Swedish is one-fifth.

The immigrant students tended to resume their Swedish studies to a greater extent than the Swedish students.

In brief, most of the drop-out students followed up did not resume their studies within two years after leaving their courses. These findings lend little support to the claim that drop-outs from municipal adult education are often temporary

intermissions. This might possibly be true of students dropping out of daytime courses, but it does not hold good for the student categories investigated in the GRUV project.

Summary of results

The results of the drop-out studies made in the course of the GRUV project can be briefly summarized as follows.

- Roughly two-thirds or more of the students in the courses covered by the GRUV project dropped out.
- Most drop-outs came during the first term of the course, expecially during the first few weeks. A large number of students also dropped out between the first and second terms of the course. Drop-outs were equally frequent among newcomers joining the course in the second term as among students joining in the first term.
- Withdrawal was often due to a combination of factors. External circumstances such as illness were often stated as the causes of drop-outs, but in many cases one finds that they merely served to trigger off a drop-out which had been contemplated previously.
- Dropping out was often associated with dissatisfaction or difficulties regarding the teaching situation. A very large proportion of the drop-out students had had difficulty in following the instruction.
- The teacher was a very important factor determining the participant's adjustment to the teaching situation.
- Lack of community between those who dropped out and the other members of the group seems to have been a frequent problem.

Translating these findings into the terms used by Rubenson and Höghielm (see the model on page 101), we might say that the strength of the power to take part in the course had declined to zero in the case of a majority of the original participants. This power is a function of valency (i.e. the extent to which participation is seen as a means of satisfying experienced needs) and expectation (belief in one's chances of coping with the course).

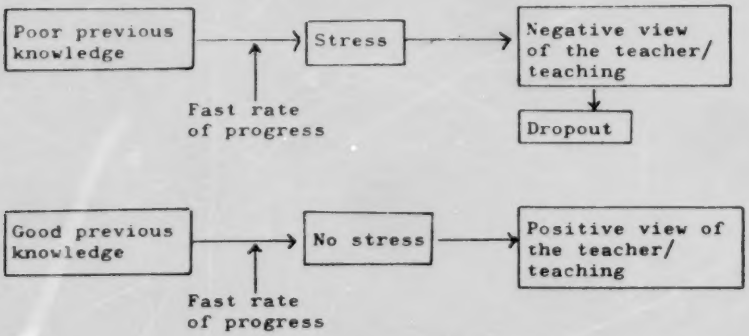
Thus withdrawal may result from a person no longer viewing the course as a means of reaching a desired objective or from a person no longer believing in his ability to complete the course, or again it may result from a weakening of both these components.

Valency may well have declined during the course where many students are concerned. Lack of contact between the students in many groups has helped to produce a large number of drop-outs as well as the students' feeling of not having learned anything. This type of experience is bound to lead to a steep decline of valency in the case of a student who has started a course in order to meet new friends or improve his general education by learning English, for example.

The other component determining the power to participate is the student's opinion of his chances of successfully completing the course. Clearly the participants' hopes on this score were dashed.

One of the consistent features emerging from the interviews is the difficulty involved in keeping up with the instruction and feeling that one is learning something. This is manifested by the drop-out students' complaints about such things as the rapid rate of progress, the large volume of homework, lack of revision or the teacher only putting questions to the cleverest students.

In many cases, particularly where English and mathematics are concerned, difficulty in keeping up can be attributed to the inadequacy of the students' previous knowledge of the subject. This can be illustrated by means of the following figure:



(Rubenson and Höghielm, 1978)

In the above figure, good previous knowledge leads to a positive view of the teaching received, while difficulties in keeping up make the student critical of the teacher and the teaching.

Our findings also show that the students very often focus criticism on themselves, and that they feel that they are too old to learn, that they were unsuitable for the course in question or that they did not put the necessary amount of time and effort into their studies. There is a serious risk of the net result of the course where these students are concerned being that they have learned that they are not capable of participating in municipal adult education. The four-term follow-up of drop-out students, summarized above, showed similarly that only a small proportion of the drop-out students had resumed their studies within the period concerned.

Discussion

The municipal adult education (Komvux) courses included in the project have recruited a large proportion of under-educated persons, a category which must be regarded as one of the most important target groups for adult education.

It is clear that many under-educated persons regard participation in municipal adult education as a means of satisfying self-perceived needs. As the course has progressed, a large number of them have been forced to reconsider this view, often as a result of finding that their expectations of successfully completing the course were misguided. The results suggest that this pattern is especially conspicuous in the case of students with inadequate previous knowledge at the beginning of the course - a group which is probably more akin to the most important target group than are the students who completed the courses.

Municipal adult education does not entail any formal entrance requirements, apart from a minimum age and the stipulation that the student must be judged capable of following the instruction. Most adult high schools have certain resources available for information, educational counselling and student welfare. These resources are at the diposal of students who are interested enough to request them, but they are not an integral part of the actual teaching process. The special auxiliary measures available to students having difficulty in coping with instruction are few in number (auxiliary instruction) and the students interviewed

have made very little use of them, usually because they did not know that the provision existed. This system has resulted in responsibility for successful studies being completely thrust on the individual student and in a discontinuation of studies often being viewed as a personal failure.

In Komvux, there is little overt selection at entry through the admission system. Instead this function is performed by what Clark (1960) terms "cooling-out", i.e. students are not rejected in open competition with other students but instead meet hidden and informal forces. There is an interchange system where the recruitment process act with the internal educational process. Municipal adult education can be seen to operate in the same way as compulsory schooling as far as the sorting os students in concerned. Komvux drop-outs certainly appear to be the counterpart of disciplinary problems and poor marks in compulsory schooling.

Despite the change of policy, the allocatory effects so far have been small. Broström and Ekeroth (1977) have elucidated these effects by studying the representation of disadvantaged groups in adult education in 1968 and 1974. The change occurring between these two years was negligible. This is corroborated by the findings, obtained in the GRUV project, that under-educated persons recruited for evening Komvux courses run into great difficulties - difficulties which have prevented a very large proportion of them from completing their studies. These findings have to be interpreted in relation to the structure of the education system.

Municipal adult education is part and parcel of the regular school system. Höghielm's accompanying article deals with conditions governing and restricting school activities. Apart from curricula and the aims defined for schools (a context in which the allocation aspects are less pronounced), teaching is also subject to social norms and values of the kind summarized in the diagram on page 118 by the terms frame system and formal rule system. These frames do a great deal to restrict the scope for change in teaching.

At the same time Komvux is a part of the adult education sector, a sector in which the allocatory objective has been emphatically stated. Municipal adult education has become a form of schooling with roots in two distinct educational traditions. It is supposed to have a compensatory effect and to reduce the educational gaps resulting from a school system which - so far, at least - has not succeeded in eliminating class differences in society. The dilemma of municipal

adult education is to succeed in doing this with the aid of the same instruments and organization as the compulsory school system.

This has led to what Holmes (1965) refers to as a normative inconsistency. The normative pattern has changed. Institutional changes have focussed on the recruitment of the target group, but the rest of the system (the actual teaching process) has continued to operate in the same way as when the target group comprised the reserve of talent. As a result, Komvux remains a form of education for the advantaged. This means that instead of reducing the gap between the "powerful" and the "powerless" the gap is in fact increasing. What we have to do is to pursue a normative consistency, either through changing the selection system, or adjusting external and internal conditions to make it possible for disadvantaged groups to take part in adult education.

Paulston (1977) discusses theoretical perspectives underlying social and educational change. The theoretical and ideological orientations are often unspecified and little acknowledged. Paulston's approach can be applied to Swedish adult education policy. The normative change which has taken place can be described as a result of a diagnosis in terms of conflict theory. The needs of underprivileged groups are brought into focus in order to bring about a more equal distribution of the wealth of the community. Views concerning the means whereby this end is to be achieved however tend more to be based on an equilibrium world view where all but "adaptive" changes are undesirable. A system imbalance should require no more than small incremental adjustments. From a theoretical viewpoint, this too is an inconsistency.

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THE MUNICIPAL ADULT EDUCATION TEACHING PROCESS IN THE CONTEXT OF ALLOCATION POLICY

Robert Höghielm

Overview

The following paper is organized into five main sections:

(i) a general background discussion of the relationship between adult education and its surrounding social structures,

(ii) a model showing how society's norms and values are manifested through a frame system and within which all education operates,

(iii) a short review of previous classroom observation research,

(iv) a brief description of Swedish municipal adult education and the research

(v) main findings of the study including a) objectives, b) the use of different teaching strategies, c) "piloting", d) classroom interaction analyses (general activities, the "pace" group, comparisons with youth education).

1 INTRODUCTION

In many countries adult education has been given the role of reducing educational discrepancies in society - something which to a certain extent, in some cases, has taken place. See e.g. Halsey's Origins and Destinations pp. 219 (Halsey, et.al., 1980). Adult education will have to be allotted additional resources if it is really to become the tool by which an educational equalization in society is to be accomplished.

When we discuss educational resources, we are in fact considering the process of the management, distribution and evaluation of knowledge. A central problem in this area is to get an idea of what variables are prominent and how these are handled in a complex society. Every educational system can be regarded as a central instrument of social control which operates through the social system, making available or restricting the understandings, identities and opportunities, which, in turn, influence the distribution of power in a modern society. Eggleston (1977 a, p. 57), adopting an ecological approach, makes an important distinction between the ecology of educational systems or institutuions and the educational ecology of the individuals. The latter cannot be excluded - something that is ignored in the work of some French sociologists, (e.g. Claude Grignon). These writers often work from a conflict perspective in their analyses and in doing so, they are successful in pointing out "deficiency" groups in society. This sometimes create a dilemma especially if, as Paulston (1977, p 375) points out, you work with the "equilibrium" paradigm, i.e. encompassing a number of different theories, or causal models that focus on particular questions, methods, and phenomena while sharing certain core assumptions about social reality, values and research methods. Some prefer to refer to the situation as a normative inconsistency, e.e. a discrepancy between the official curriculum and the real conditions in society. This viewpoint is consistent with Eggelston (1977 b, p 23), who stresses the importance of the selection process of curricula content. This process can be regarded as an expression of society's power mechanism. What complicates the analyses is that the intention of the official curriculum can differ depending on who makes the interpretation.

Eggelston summarizes these processes. In any society it is probable to find five key factors:

1. the definition of what shall be regarded as knowledge, understanding, values and skills;
2. the evaluation of this knowledge - into areas of greater or lesser importance and status;
3. the principles on which such knowledge shall be distributed; to whom and at what time various kinds of knowledge shall be made available and from whom they are withheld;
4. the identity of the groups whose definitions prevail in these matters;
5. the legitimacy of these groups to act in these ways.

It is necessary to consider how all educational systems operate on both a macro level and on a micro level and yet these levels are very often mixed in a way that makes it difficult to sort them out in a meaningful way. Consequently, it is very difficult to avoid the conclusion that adult education operates in a society with a number of differing objectives and that official objectives are not always translated into reality with in the educational situation. In other words, there are often clear differences between the manifest function of adult education (as expressed in official government and institutional policies) and the latent function (as shown in the operations of the systems at the micro level).

This point can be illustrated in reference to Bourdieu's and Passeron's (1977) theory of cultural violence, influenced by Basil Bernstein's work (see for instance Bernstein, 1971), which defines the imposition of an arbitrary cultural system by an arbitrary power. If Bourdieu's ideas are applied to adult education, it shows that the more successfully we proclaim the neutrality of cultural transmission or reaffirmation in adult education, the more entrenched is the misrecognition of the society's power, relations and social interests and the more effective is the process of legitimation of the cultural system which happens to be in power. Bourdieu and Passeron have been criticized by Bisseret (1979) for only seeing symbolic violence in the selection mechanism of the society and ignoring the fact that relations of economic dominance also fundamentally determine scholastic options and success.

Regardless of the validity of this criticism it can be assumed that, in the same way as the formal compulsory school reflects the surrounding society, adult education operates in a similar way. One way of illustrating such a claim is to focus on the teaching process and try to draw a "map" of what is happening at

this level, and more especially, the ways in which values and statements from the society emerge in the process of teaching adults.

Some theoreticans, often referred to as the new educational sociologists (see Karabel & Halsey (1977)), claim that one of the most important tasks of the school system is to help reproduce the surrounding social order. They also assume that the agents or the students are essentially passive in such a process. In view of these assertions, it can be of interest to try to get an idea of how participants in adult education 'act' in the teaching situation and consider the extent to which any empirical findings support these types of statements.

2 FRAMING SYSTEM OF ADULT EDUCATION

To what extent are the society's norms and values reflected in the educational process? As a guide to this discussion the following diagram is given showing a classification system which is a version of a system suggested by Lundgren (1977).

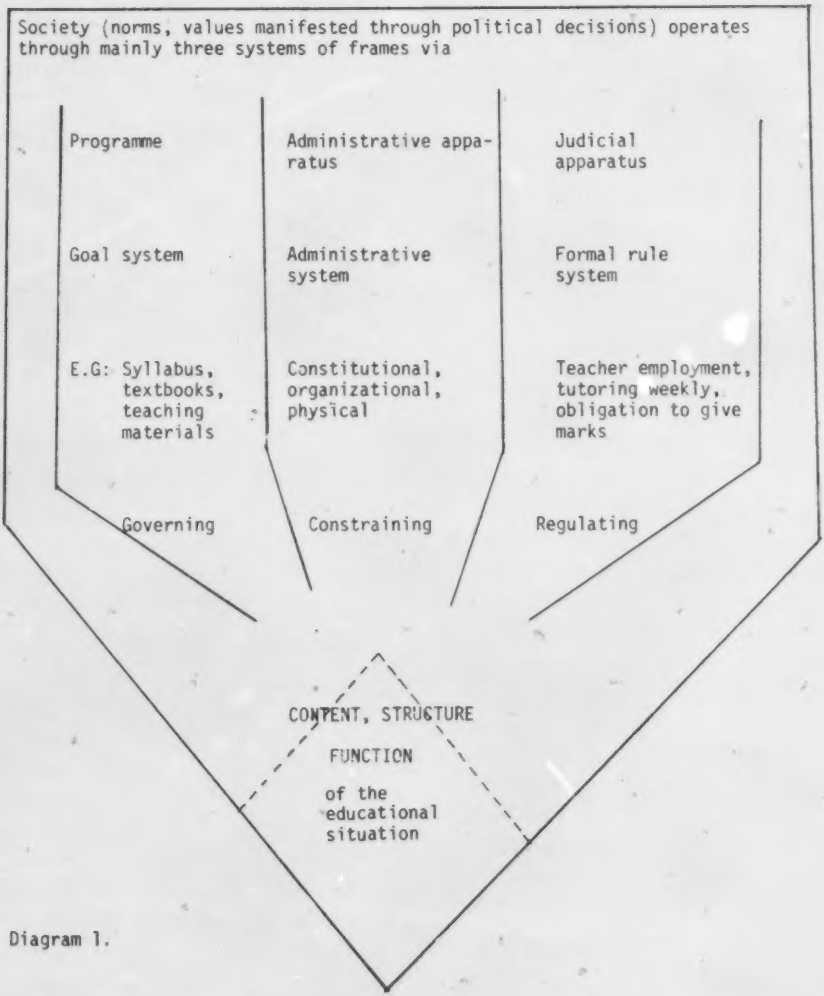

Diagram 1.

As pointed out earlier, the complexity of society's educational system, means that this figure must only be used as a guide to understanding under what conditions the "actors" in the process of instruction operate. In using this figure the limitations of such an approach must be stressed, in that it refers only briefly to theories of learning as a starting point for looking at instruction, as the context factors here called frame factors can also not be neglected. These factors embrace for example the subject matter expressed in the syllabus, curriculum, textbooks and the grouping of participants. In the figure these elements are referred to as organizational factors. The formal rule system must also be considered. Organizational changes in program planning cannot be made arbitrarily, because there is, for instance, a reality expressed in how many hours weekly the tutors work and special conditions bound to the instructor's conditions of employment. These three systems govern, constrain and regulate what happens in the educational situation of the classroom. They limit the content of the educational situation, structure it and also settle its fucntion. Sometimes there might appear to be considerable freedom to act in the teaching pocess, but if consideration is given to the fact the situation must always be adapted to certain environmental circumstances expressed throught the above-mentioned frame factors, then it becomes clear that the possibilities of real change in the learning conditions are very limited. A teacher can always try to make alterations in cooperation with the participants, but if these are too divergent, the "system" has a good chance of ultimately 'winning'. In the study which is presented later in this paper, this same figure has been used as a starting point for the research planning.

In discussing the particular characteristics of adult education, there is frequent reference to the special classroom conditions or the educational situation. In this reference mention can be made of the debate of andragogy vs. pedagogy in Adult Education during fall 1979. The uniqueness of teaching adults is, for instance, supposedly related to the great(er) possibilities for the participants to influence the planning and the use of the participants' experiences. This is the same type of argument that the politicians in the Nordic countries use in justifying the spending of more money on expanding adult education activities. Effective adult education is expected to improve the participants' ability to exercise their democratic rights - as expressed for example in a greater capacity to take responsibility for their own actions and play a greater part in democratic decision processes. If the educational level of e.g. under-educated adults is generally increased then it is, in turn,

assumed that there is a corresponding decrease in the probability of having a society with inequality and misuse of political power. It is not sufficient to use conventional statistical data to materialize this argument, but rather, it is necessary to describe what happens inside "the system" - e.g. drop-outs, educational strategies, textbooks, curriculum.

It would therefore appear necessary to use both quantitative and qualitative data when trying to make an evaluation of the system in adult education, of which the teaching process is an important element. Research in this area cannot confine itself to traditional micro-studies of the psychology of learning or to short-term studies of classroom behaviour, be it classroom interaction or evaluation studies of instructional programmes. If the different teaching styles etc. are to be assessed then there is no point in trying to use different test programmes because these only reflect minor differences. Instead, it is better to postpone this type of research activity in favour of making a survey of the teaching process itself. The latter type of research approach can, of course, also be combined with an analysis of results in terms of test scores. The broader approach, which includes the process conditions, may be called functional analysis in contrast to the criterion - related result analysis.

If these statements are considered in relation to the diagram presented, some short comings can be noted. One obvious problem is that the diagram seems to neglect psychological aspects. Of course these aspects must be included and this can be done as follows:

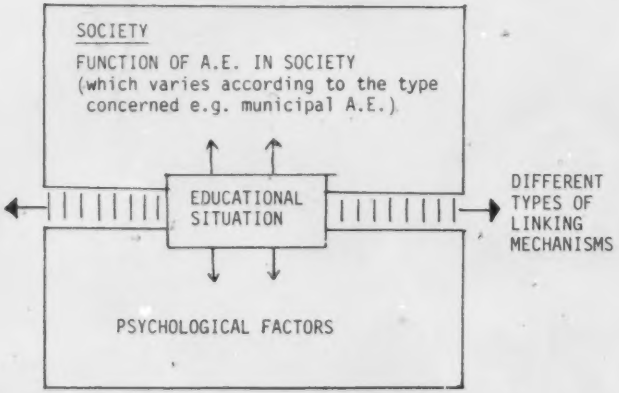
SOCIETY
FUNCTION OF A.E. IN SOCIETY
(which varies according to the type concerned e.g. municipal A.E.)
EDUCATIONAL SITUATION
DIFFERENT TYPES OF LINKING MECHANISMS
PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

Diagram 2.

In diagram 1 only the upper part of the figure was covered but, of the bottom part (psychological factors) must also be considered in research work concerning the teaching process.

It is also problematic to describe how the linking mechanisms work, partly because these mechanisms sometimes concern factors which are difficult to classify. The best solution therefore seems to be to have a pragmatic approach and refer the psychological factors as directly as possible to the actors themselves in the educational situation.

3 OBSERVATION SYSTEM IN CLASSROOM OBSERVATION

For a long time educational researchers have taken a great interest in trying to describe the characteristics of a good teacher or educator. Much research work has been done in this field, for instance with the purpose of showing which personality traits or which type of instruction should be used to ensure success. In one of the earliest reported studies by Kratz (1896) students described what characteristics they believed distinguished between the best and the worst teacher respectively. Subsequent research methods were all very subjective. In the beginning of the 1930's, there was a trend stressing the importance of using objective instrument. This trend prevailed for a long time in research studies of this genre.

During the thirties, attempts were made to apply the same type of observation techniques which had become well known in child development research and which had produced good results within that field. Experiences from these classroom observations carried out during the 1930's were not very encouraging. Problems in handling the problems of reliability and validity were reported. The only result of efforts to increase reliability and validity was that the observers only had trivial matters to report. Problems of this type were reported, among others, by Jersild (1939). This type of research was not used on a broader scale until the beginning of the 1950's, when access to better technology. for example made it possible to work on the vast amounts of material collected.

Since that time, many different observation systems have been developed - most of them are reported in Simon & Boyer's "Mirrors of Behavior" (1967, 1970). An important point to note, however, is that all of these systems must be regarded simply as observation tools with different capacities and with which a situation which necessitates classroom observations can be confronted. Most of the systems are tied to the sociometric tradition in classroom research which has focused in part on the relations between e.g. students background, social class and partly on the social network between different students.

4 A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF A STUDY IN MUNICIPAL ADULT EDUCATION

Introduction

The present study deals with municipal adult education (Komvux), an area funded jointly by the Swedish Government and the local community. (See Borgström in this volume.) Participation is voluntary and one of its main purposes is to offer formal education to adults ranging from primary school level through to upper secondary school. The primary school part includes a section corresponding to ABE in U.S. Most participants fall within the 30-40 years age range. The objectives of municipal adult education (as of all adult education in Sweden) can be summarised in the following points.

Swedish adult education aims to:

- decrease educational discrepancies in society and act for increased equality and social justice.
- increase people's critical understanding of, and active participation in cultural, social and political life,
- effectively contribute to the development and progress of the Swedish economy,
- meet the expressed needs of adults for increased educational opportunities.

Municipal adult education is aimed primarily at recruiting adults with low levels of primary education and adults with different types of handicaps.

Data needed for the study

Conditions for consideration

Earlier studies and experiences from working life undoubtedly influence the participants' behaviour in the learning situation - for example physical study conditions and its general 'modus operandi'. Other aspects to be considered are the participants' previous qualifications as well as the instructor's former experiences of different types of education.

Study needs are often regarded as an expression of uncovered motives. Depending on what kinds of motives, the same process of instruction can be experienced in very different ways. The degree of convergence between content and the strategy of instruction and study motives must influence the participants' behaviour.

It is also necessary to differentiate between psychological factors and social factors. The former can be considered synonymous with the individual participant or instructor, while the latter are expressed in the different frames.

In the present study, in view of these considerations, the following examples of factors can be given of what have been mapped:

psychological factors:
participants' own perception of their behaviour in the process of instruction and how they can be related to the participants themselves, their educational ambitions and objectives,

general social factors:
local school administration and working conditions, individuals' environment e.g. participants' social cultural, political and economical resources,

instruction situation:
different types of working conditions, planning of lessons, the study pace, degree of individualization, different key groups, network of communication and the climate of the class, participants' study intensity and study results,

curriculum:
expressed and interpreted in textbooks, contents of instruction and choice of working-rules.

With this approach, however, it is difficult to cover the issue of how much each variable contributes to an overall explanation of what happens. In this study it was considered to be important to combine an intensive study at the micro level, with an extensive one at the macro level, to gain an overview of which patterns and structures are valid. Through an intensive study of the teaching process used in these circumstances, it was hoped to have started a process of exploring the syntax of instruction in adult education.

Methods for data collection

To cover some of the factors already mentioned earlier, it is necessary to operate on several levels. Some of the problems can be illustrated through the extensive study which dealt with more general questions, such as the objectives of adult education and the provision and content of local training programs for instructors. In these areas, questionnaires and interviews were used for data collection. In the intensive study data were collected on three levels: classroom observations, tape-recorded lessons, and questionnaires and interviews with both tutors and participants.

No specific observation method was chosen because most of the techniques mentioned in Simon's and Boyer's survey were deficient in some way for the purposes of the study. Special interest was made in identifying who was speaking and the order in which the classroom actors were speaking. Therefore, a simple observation system influenced by Flanders' work (see e.g. Flanders, 1970) was constructed.

All tape-recorded lessons were transcribed and analysed using Bellack's system (1967). All vocal interaction was divided into themes according to a modified version of Smith's & Meux's system (1962) - this system has also been used by e.g. Lundgren (1972) and Gustafsson (1977).

The intensive study covered 18 classes in municipal adult education, 9 classes in the mother tongue (Swedish), 9 classes in mathematics. From September 1977 to May 1978 approximately 240 lessons were observed and approximately 30 further lessons were tape-recorded. The questionnaires and interviews were completed during autumn 1978. The extensive study was carried out during spring 1978.

5 MAIN FINDINGS

Objectives reflected in the general planning of the teaching process

One aim of the study was to gain an impression of how teachers perceive the objectives of adult education. Most of the answers given by the respondents were clearly influenced by the debate in newspapers and radio and TV in the beginning of 1970. This debate resulted from several state reports showing that many adults had only a short basic education from compulsory school. Prior to this in Sweden, there were a number of special pieces of adult education legislation (in 1967 and 1970) which allocated a considerable amount of economic resources to municipal adult education.

Many teachers appear to regard municipal adult education primarily as an instrument to improve the participants' formal education. Of course, they were also aware that adult education is supposed to increase the participants' social resources - i.e. increase their ability to formulate their own wishes and express them through more direct actions, such as cultural an political activities. The question, however, is whether this opinion is superficial (i.e. lip-service to an ideal) or whether it is an opinion that is in fact manifested in the teacher's actions - that is, the teaching situation.

Working on the assumption that one of the main tasks of adult education in society is to increase the social potential of under-educated persons, then it should, in turn, be reflected in the process of instruction, for instance to strengthen the participants' responsibility, their self-confidence and their ability to relate their own experiences in the learning situation.

In the extensive study (findished in May 1978) approx. 70 % of the teachers (N = 544) who had new adult basic education classes in autumn 1977 said that they never had tried to make arrangements to plan the course together with the participants. One of their main arguments put forward was that the participants had too little experience of the specific subject. Another reason for this situation could be that some subjects have such special conditions which make it difficult to plan together with the participants. Mathematics is often mentioned as such a subject. Only 18 % of the mathematics and 19 % of the science teachers in fact report having tried to plan together with the parti-

cipants. Teachers of Swedish, English and Civics plan co-operatively in about 35 % of the cases. But this is still a very low figure, especially considering that the last-mentioned subjects seem to be more open to these sorts of possibilities than mathematics. The fact that only 19 % of the science teachers try to plan co-operatively is a little more surprising as this subject has a more direct connection with "real life" situations than mathematics, for example.

On the other hand, results of the intensive study indicate that the participants were quite interested in taking part in the planning process. When asked about this apparent contradiction the tutors replied that they assumed that they would move in this direction later in the course. They subsequently reported that they had in fact achieved this aim. The participants, however, were of the opposite opinion. They believed that they were allowed to take part in planning of the courses to only a minor extent. It is difficult to explain why this contradiction exists. One explanation could be that the tutors had been deceived by the warm social climate which in fact existed in most of these classes.

When considering how the tutors organized their lessons generally, it is clear that the lecture method is the most common way organizing instruction. Only about 25 % of the teachers say that they incorporate activities such as group work in their courses (used as a method in only 20 % of their instruction time). Furthermore, discussions predominate in only 10-20 % of the classes which rely mostly on discussion (60 % of the total). A very similar picture emergy from our intensive study.

Time spent on different types of activity (in minutes). All classes, all observations (intensive study) Table 1.

Swedish
Total: 4744 minutes

	Minutes (percentage)		Minutes (percentage)
1. Questioning (examination)	507 (11 %)	5. Same directed activity for all participants	637 (13 %)
2. General lecturing	1861 (39 %)	6. Individualized tutoring with different tasks for participants	216 (5 %)
3. Group work	645 (14 %)	7. Unspecified	35 (1 %)
4. Discussions	843 (18 %)		

Mathematics

Total: 4790 minutes

	Minutes (percentage)		Minutes (percentage)
1. Questioning (examination)	145 (3 %)	5. Same directed activity for all participants	1162 (24 %)
2. General lecturing	2569 (54 %)	6. Individualized tutoring with different tasks for participants	709 (15 %)
3. Group work	60 (1 %)		
4. Discussions	145 (3 %)		

Here it can be seen that examination and general lecturing dominate in both Swedish (50 % of all time we observed these classes) and in the mathematics classes (57 %). At the same time, only 32 % is spent on group activity and discussions in Swedish and 4 % in mathematics. The last extremely low figure can, however, to a certain extent, be explained by the structure of the subject.

Why do the teachers act like this? One possible answer is, that the teachers have not been able to consider these elements in the objectives, stating how necessary it is to let the participants be trained in making their own decisions and taking responsibility for their actions. But the results can also be interpreted in terms of the model (diagram 1), where one conclusion must be that the instructors cannot let the participants spend time on processes of decision, for instance, because of frame restrictions (curriculum, how the group is organized, a certain number of lessons for the instructor). Turning to the tape recordings, there is information of a somewhat complementary nature, when the teachers try to avert the dilemma of frames.

The tape recordings were made from the moment the mathematics instructors first started a new item and the classes were then followed through the whole item until the teachers were ready to leave the specific item being observed. In most cases, this happened after approximately five to six lessons. The particular item studied covered negative numbers and analyses of fucntions (including the co-ordinate system). We also tape-recorded lessons in Swedish. The teachers only permitted tape recordings when they presented grammatical items - possibly a shortcoming of this section.

The problem with considering all participants

Through different strategies

A good overview of what happened was gained by a technique using a system with wireless microphones which made it possible to transcribe everything which was said. Thus, the only extra person present in the classroom was the usual observer. By that time the class had become quite familiar with the observer after three months' experience of this situation. By analysing the transcriptions it was possible see, for instance, how the teachers endeavoured to present the item through different strategies. The following diagrams illustrate what happened in the majority of the classes.

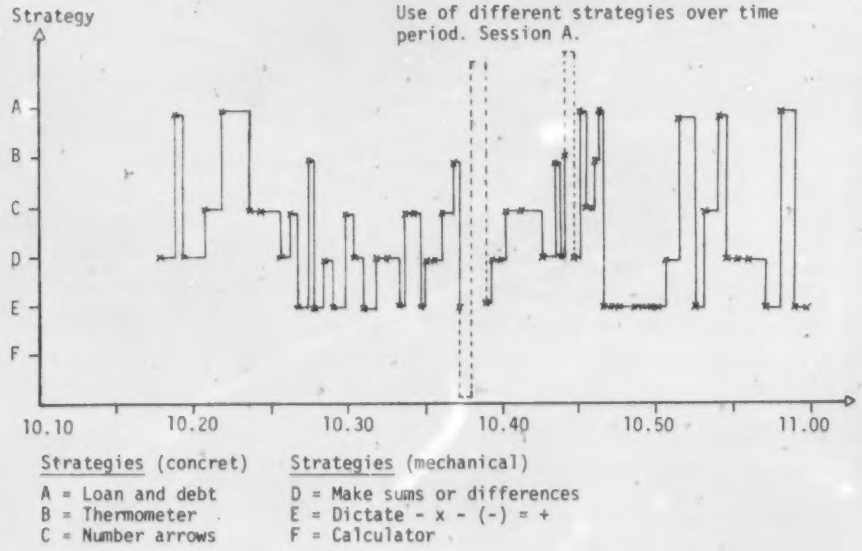

Diagram 3A. (Dotted line indicates non-subject-relevant activity)

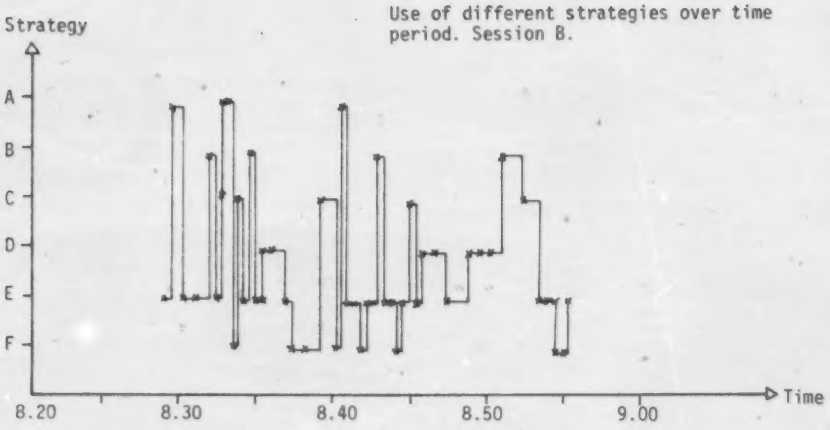

Diagram 3 B.

Diagram 3 A shows the use of different strategies over a period of an hour when the teacher introduced the idea of negative numbers as a mathematical concept for the first time. The diagram shows how the teacher switches from strategy to strategy in an effort to make sure that everybody in the class understands the new concept. But to what extent does the teacher succeed? In teaching the participants what this particular concept means, there is a very real risk of ending up in trouble in switching the explanation strategy so often and at such a speed as this particular teacher.

What makes the teacher (and our other teachers) act like this? In following the dialogue in the class it becomes clear that the teacher tries to consider all initiatives coming from the participants. The teacher tries to respond to the demand of taking care of all initiatives from adult participants. In doing this, the teacher is forced to change strategies often - with dubious results for the students' learning. It is quite obvious that the participants are active because they are seeking a role with which they can associate and be guided by later on.

It is also possible to deduce via the individual conversations the fact that, from the teacher's view, there are difficulties, with virtually no participants understanding the concept of negative numbers the problem being that the strategies the teacher can offer are not sufficient to explain all cases that arise. Two strategies are possible - E (dictated - x - = +) and F (use calculator), but the teacher does not discuss these with the participants. Instead, this teacher (and others) used different types of tricks' to solve the situation, including letting some of the participants pilot themselves through the tricky passages.

Through the technique of piloting

The phenomenon of piloting is something the teachers use to pass a critical or time-wasting passage more quickly and with less disruption. The same technique is reported from youth education (Kilborn, 1976, Lundgren, 1977). The following diagram (4) can be a concrete illustration of this technique.

Proportions of Teacher three and participants' replies for 6 (six) minutes.

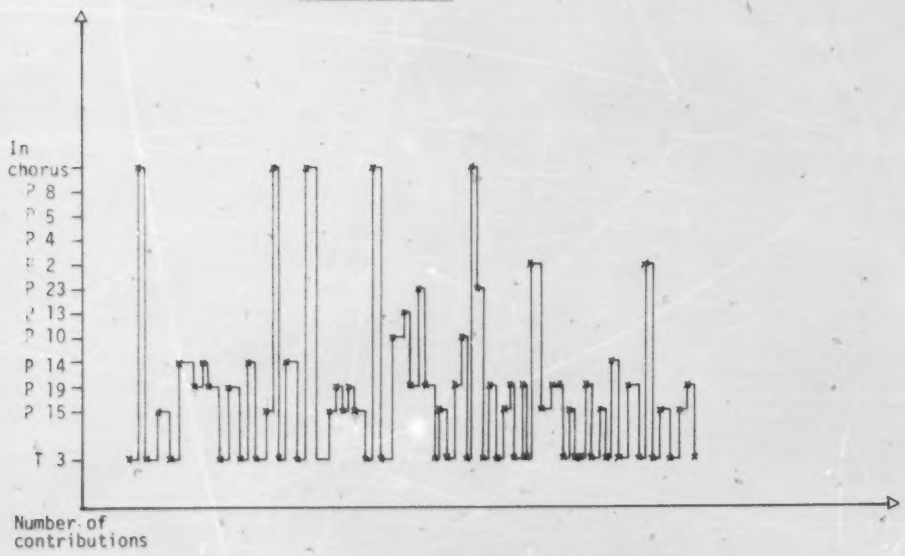

Diagram 4.

Here it is seen how two of the participants dominated the interaction during a 6 minute period. These participants supported the teacher's lecture by giving reasonable remarks and answers about the item being represented, while the rest of the class was silent. The main issue is, however, do these participants in fact, understand the item in question? The answer is no, because in private conversations between the teacher and the participant (reported in follow-ups of the individuals involved) it was abvious that the latter did not understand the concept at all. The teacher's objective in such a performance (illustrated in diagram 4) is obviously to secure a way of passing through a difficult passage without being hindered by the rest of the class who do not understand the topic either.

Teacher piloting can be illustrated more concretely in the wollowing passage from another lesson and another teacher. This time the teacher uses a participant who is quite proficient in the subject. The following transcript illustrates how the teacher endeavours to avoid most of the difficulties or complex explanations (P 23 = participant).

Time:

12.06 Teacher: Here we have the positive number 3. How many such arrows can we draw now P 23?

P 23: As many as you like.

12.07 Teacher: .....and the length?

P 23: That you can see from the number.

12.14 Teacher: To the left yes. Actually the (-2)-arrow should go like this, because it is the (-2)-arrow. But you have subtraction. How do you turn it now P 23?

P 23: To the right.

12.15 Teacher: We will start illustrating the addition. And the first arrow shows the number.

P 23: (-3).

Teacher: (-3), plus?

P 23: Plus (-2).

Teacher: Equal to?

P 23: (-5).

In all these situations, there is something new and complicated which is being presented or the teacher degresses into a complex situation. In wanting to help the participants understand, the most natural thing would appear to be to let the participants try to answer. In a way, it is an act of self-deception (whether consciously or unconsciously) to let P 23 "deliver" all the answers on behalf of the group. For one thing there is the satisfaction of seeing participants giving the right answers, and then the other participants in the class observe that students "know" - and perhaps it is only I who do not understand.

Another type of piloting is more sophisticated. An example of this is the expression: "You can easily see that..." often found in mathematical and scientific contexts when there are difficulties in explaining apparently easy relationships. The student often infers that the passage is so easy that you do not have to go through it. The following example illustrates how a teacher pilots the participants by using some particular words around some "pedagogical landmines". In this example, the participants wanted the subtraction operation of 3-(-2) explained with the help of assets and liabilities. This is, however, a blind alley, but the teacher did not admit that. Instead, he chose the following explanation:

Teacher: I reduce my debt, this is something positive. I reduce a debt. And this is accordingly something positive.

The tutor has not explained anything. He has toyed with words in such a way as to make the answer seemingly relevant and the participants accept it for the present. The problem, however, is (and this surely is the point) that these participants cannot reproduce or transfer the example to another situation similar to this one.

On another occassion, the instructor wanted to concretize the operation of 2-(-3) which the participants could not follow. He therefore chose to illustrate this with reference to the thermometer.

Teacher: If it is 2 degrees (c^0) above zero in the morning and 3 degrees (c^0) below zero in the evening, what is the difference in between?

The class: 5 degrees.

Teacher: Yes, it is 5 degrees.

P 12: It was a good example!

But, was it really a good example? What did the instructor do in fact? He transformed the original problem into a new problem, where he solved the problem of 2+3=5! Some of the participants believe it is an adequate solution to the problem. If they had analysed the original task, however, they could have discovered that the teacher had solved another and more simple problem. The main issue, again, is whether the participants can use the method and make generalizations from it. Is the model for the solution also correct? The temperature has in fact gone down 5 degrees during the day, so if you consider that fact the correct answer should be (-3)-2=5! These are obviously difficulties which must be sorted out before the participants can use the model presented by the teacher.

Discussion

The main consideration must be as to why our teachers act like this, using different types of tricks. To sort this out of course is not a simple task, as it is not possible to use an explanation that this is merely a number of examples of bad instruction. If it is assumed to be a question of bad instruction, then the solution to the problem clearly lies in the instructors needing retraining in the subject, thus avoiding more methodological mistakes. Of course some improvements can be made up to a certain point, but to increase the effort giving more time for methodological retraining will not necessarily lead to a more correct behavior in the classroom. What is needed, among other things, is more time for the course and a subsequent avoidance of pressure to cover the set curriculum, as well as the demands from the participants that they must cover all items in the course so that they do not miss important parts of it. Most of them have also the ambition of getting the possible mark. In interviews with all of the teachers in the intensive study they stressed how important it was to cover everything in the course because they felt the pressure from the participants and (indirectly) from those teacher who perhaps would take over if the participants studied further. Most of the participants do also want to go on studying.

The extensive study shows that about 40 % of the teaching time is spent on general lectures ("essentially a one way process in the chalk-and-talk tradition"). At the same time 5-20 % of the time is spent on group activity.

The tendency is exactly the same as we already have presented from the intensive study. The conclusion must be the same i.e. that the teacher cannot "afford" the more time-consuming techniques (group activity, discussion). There is a conflict coming to the surface here trying to cover all items studied in the compulsory school in the shortest way, while being told at the same time to consider all spontaneous initiatives from the participants or use the adults experience from life in your tutoring, for example. The dilemma is that the teacher must choose and that choice is reflected in how most of our adult teachers organize their teaching.

Asked if they had completed the course without any changes, only 40 per cent of the teachers in the extensive study said they had managed to do so. What type of decisions do the teachers make when they have to change their planning? Of those teachers who changed their planning, only half lowered the standard of their teaching by shortening the syllabus contents. Conferring with the participants is a rather unusual decision (made in only approx. 1/4 of the cases). An exception is found in the teachers of civics, who only consulted the participants in 2 per cent of the cases. The interest in point here is that it could have been expected to have at least the same rate in this area as for the other teachers. The answers also reflect the same attitude as has already have been presented in discussing the question of objectives, showing that most of the teachers had not tried to consult the participants in questions of course planning.

Classroom interaction activity as shown in the intensive study

General activity of participants

The results presented up to this point may perhaps be seen as something other than a result of a system of restricting frames. Is it possible to get more accurate information in trying to analyse how the participants really act in the teaching situation? During approx. 240 lessons the activities of the participants were studied using a simple technique which indicates when a participant makes a contribution and the ranking order of these contributions. An utterance is defined as a consistent statement of a certain category. Any shift of category was coded as a new statement. A statement could, according to this definition, differ quite a lot over time, from a very short time to a longer contribution lasting several minutes. The contributions were categorized as follows.

A = giving administrative information

L = giving information related to a specific aspect of the subject

S = shorter responses always preceded by a non-directed question

SR = shorter responses always preceded by a directed question

Q = question

H = individual help

P = probing

V = verification

Charts illustrating how activity goes on in the classroom were constructed. The following diagram (5) is one example of these charts, as used in the study.

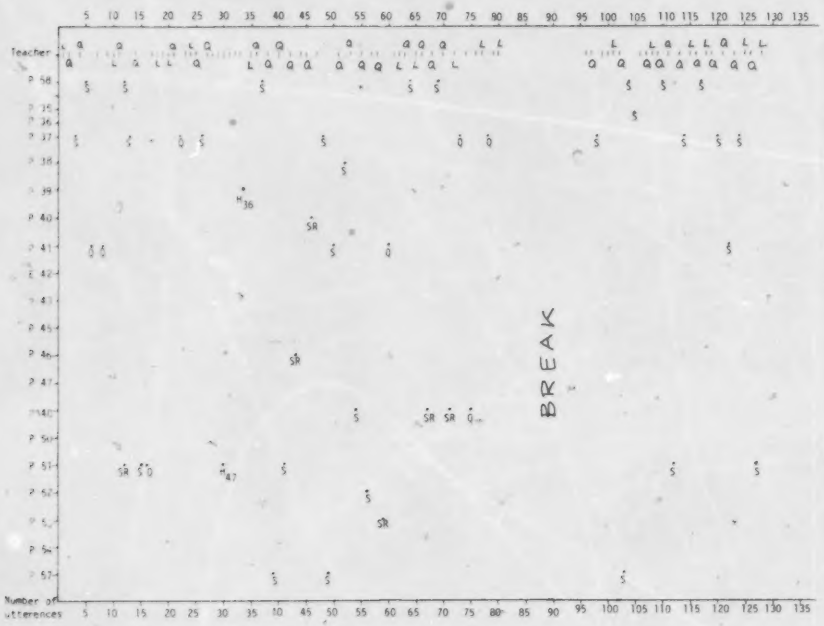

Diagram 5.

In this chart it can be seen how the teacher dominates activity in the classroom. The same picture emerges in both mathematics and Swedish. Fifty-five charts were made from the mathematics lessons and fifty-one charts from the lessons in Swedish. The main difference in activity between the classes in mathematics and Swedish is that participants in the latter make more contributions than the former. On the other hand, the teachers of Swedish tend to speak much more. The picture from our observed lessons is the same - namely, that all the teachers completely dominate the verbal activity in the classroom. Furthermore, the picture is exactly the same when the tape-recorded lessons are considered. It can also be seen how different groups of participants contribute in the classroom activity. The participants were divided into a number of types of activity - how many times they make a verbal contribution and how often they do it in relation to their fellow-students. The following categories were used.

Activities in classrooms by intensity of contributions. Table 2.

A Number of contributions on each observed occasion	B The median number of fellow contributions in between every contribution a specific participant makes, divided by the total numbers of participants' contributions	A + B Combination of A and B
0	-	0
1 - 3	0.00 - 0.05[x]	1
1 - 3	0.06 - 0.10	2
1 - 3	> 0.10	3
4 - 10	0.00 - 0.05	4
4 - 10	0.06 - 0.10	5
4 - 10	> 0.10	6
> 10	0.00 - 0.05	7
> 10	0.06 - 0.10	8
> 10	> 0.10	9

[x] Low = The participant has made very condensed contributions
High = More spread in comparison to the other participants

For mathematics and Swedish the following table is presented. (Only the most frequent activity indexes are presented.)

Most frequent activity indexes Table 3.

Mathematics

0[x]	1	4	7
12	30	12	12
42			

INDEXES

PER CENT

Represents 66 % of the cases

Swedish

0[x]	1	4	7	6
5	12	6	36	13
17				

Represents 72 % of the cases

[x] present but no contribution

The most usual form of acting in mathematics is index one, i.e. a participant speaks only 1 - 3 times on every observed occasion. Together with zero, the conclusion can be drawn that most participants seldom make contributions in mathematics lessons, a situation is perhaps not suprising when considering that the subject is largely centred around individual excercises of course. It can always be questioned if this methodology is necessary. In Swedish, the most frequent behaviour is index seven, where the participants make 10 or more contributions during a rather concentrated period of the lesson. The index, indicating how condensed the participants' contributions are, is related to how many participants you have in the class, which makes it necessary to be careful when making comparisons between the classes.

The stability of the participants' behaviour was considered by a regressional analysis using data from the first noted behaviour and observing the extent to which this changes on different observed occasions. The results indicated a weak, decreasing tendency for those participants who spoke 10 or more times, while those who were quite silent, (zero or 1 - 3 contributions), did not change their behaviour. These findings are based on an observed period of almost a year. Evidently, the participants' behaviour did not change during that period. One conclusion could be that the teachers try to "calm down" those who have a high level of verbal contributions, while they do not manage to increase the verbal activitity of those who are very quiet.

The pace group

Obviously there are categories of participants who dominate more than others during the lessons. An example already given illustrated how the teachers could use active or cooperative participants to go through certain passages. The main

question which now emerges is if there are participants in the observed classes who set the pace of the activities. This idea has been formulated by Dahllöf (1967), who uses the concept "steering group". In a re-analysis of research on ability grouping Dahllöf (1971) found a similarity in result patterns. The time spent on elementary curriculum units covaried with the absolute value of the students between the 10 - 25 percentile in relation to general ability in each class. Dahllöf interpreted that pattern in terms of role behaviour. The students in this group seemed to function as a criterion group for the teacher - a "check-up" group when learning a certain curriculum unit and when changing to a new one. Lundgren (1972) has demonstrated how steering groups operated in academic high school (grade 11 - where the students were about seventeen to eighteen years old). Lundgren points out that the steering group can be seen as having an effect on actual frames (class size, composition of class and time available) and goals. This means that when looking at different classes, the steering group will alter accordingly. But the steering group can also be considered as a fixed group, meaning that the teacher always relates the goal level to the frames and integrates his own pedagogical behaviour in such a way that he always considers the capacity of those who correspond intellectually to the 10 - 25 percentile. These two ways of looking at the concept steering group complement each other if the actual steering group is stated as varied, but according to the teacher's interpretation of his role, there are limits. Returning to our tape-recorded lessons, a clearer picture emerges illustrating what characterizes the group setting the pace in the classroom.

The teaching process can be regarded as a result of actors' performance in accordance to certain given roles. From the observed lessons the conclusion made thus far is that there are clear differences in behaviour and that behaviour is reasonably constant. Bellack et al (1966) provides an analogy with behaviour in classrooms and a game. The important point to stress here is that everyone has different pedagogical roles - both the participants and the teachers.

As already has been mentioned, most earlier classroom observation work has been aimed at finding a relationship between the teachers' behaviour and the pupils achievement or attitudes. The purpose has been to answer the question of teacher effectivness - often formulated in terms of personality variables. There are some exceptions e.g. Waller (1932), Good and Brophy (1969) and Adams and Biddle (1970). In Sweden (starting with Lundgren (1972) and later Kilborn (1976) and

Gustafsson (1977) there are examples of a new tradition trying to look at the instructional process as a process where all members have been given different pedagogical roles. To facilitate comparisons between those studies from youth education and adult education, our transcribed tape-recorded lessons were analysed by using the Bellack (1966) system. Bellack uses mainly four pedagogical moves:

1) Structuring (STR)

> *"Structuring moves serve the function of setting the context for subsequent behavior by (1) launching or halting - excluding interactions between teacher and pupils, and (2) indicating the nature of the interaction in terms of the dimensions of time, agent, activity, topic and cognitive process, regulations, reasons, and instructional aids. A structuring move may set the context for the entire classroom game or a part of the game ... Structuring moves do not elicit a response, are not in themselves direct responses, and are not called out by anything in the immediate classroom situation except the speaker's concept of what should be said or taught."* (Bellack et al., 1966. pp. 16-17)

In our material it is the teacher who dominates these types of moves. The structuring moves were also noticed to be quite different with regard to intentions. It was therefore decided to employ the same type of separation of the structuring moves into four categories as Gustafsson (1977, p. 180) but in this article the results are presented in accordance with Bellack's original definition.

2) Soliciting (SOL) which is intended to elicit

> *(a) an active verbal response on the part of the persons addressed; (b) a cognitive response, e.g. encouraging persons addressed to attend to something; or (c) a physical response ... these moves may take all grammatical forms - declarative, interrogative, and imperative ..."* (Bellack et al., 1966, p 18)

> *"To observe soliciting is to observe (1) who solicits whom; (2) what the solicitor indicates he expects the other person to do; and (3) the manner in which the solicitor uses words to make his expectations known."* (Bellack et al., 1966, p. 87)

Even here it was reasonable to specify different types of soliciting actions with regard of the content. Gustafsson's more detailed nine categories (Gustafsson, p. 183-191) was also used but this paper considers only "the original category".

3) Responding (RES) and

4) reacting (REA)

The latter is related directly to the other three moves, but need not in itself be initiated by any of them. (Bellack et al., 1966, pp. 16-18)

Analysis of the tape-recorded lessons in mathematics showed different types of patterns in the different classes. But in each class it became rather obvious that there are a certain number of participants who act in a divergent way compared with the rest of the class.

The following table indicates how many participants have moves which exceed the 90th and 75th percentile. It must be pointed out that the critical figures for each percentile number are very different from class to class. In some classes only a few "moves" are needed to exceed the limit, while in other classes several "moves" must be made to pass the critical number. The different limit numbers in fact reflect very different teaching styles - for instance in some classes it is very difficult for the participant to make structuring moves because the teacher does not give anybody the chance of doing so in the class.

Participants' moves exceeding the 90th and 75th percentile in per cent of participants in each class Table 4.

Mathematics	STR		RES		REA		SOL		Number of participants
	>Q 90	>Q 75	>Q 90	>Q 75	>Q 90	>Q 75	>Q 90	>Q 75	
Class 1	11	27	11	27	11	22	11	17	18
2	18	27	18	18	18	27	18	27	11
3	14	19	10	29	14	29	14	29	21
4	7	27	7	27	13	27	13	27	15
5	15	15	10	25	15	30	15	25	20

About 15 - 30 per cent of the participants in each class correspond with more than the 75th percentile of all activity in each of the Bellack categories. But are these participants the same in all of the categories? The answer is yes - but only to a point - something which can be seen from following table showing how many of the participants are found in all combined categories of moves (i.e. RES and REA, RES, REA and SOL, RES, REA, SOL and STR).

Participants' moves (in combinations) exceeding the 75th percentile in per cent of participants in each class Table 5.

Mathematics

	>Q 75 RES + REA	>Q 75 RES + REA + SOL	>Q 75 RES + REA + SOL + STR
Class 1	16	11	11
2	18	18	18
3	19	14	10
4	20	7	7
5	15	15	10

It must be remembered that these figures represent only a few participants in each class. There is, consequently, a rather small group whose contributions or moves are very dominating in comparison with the rest of the class. But some of the participants in the group perform a slightly different role. There are some participants who have specialized roles (like only responding, reacting and so on), but around 10 per cent of the participants stand for more than the 75th quartile of all participants' moves in all of the categories in question. They not only respond, react and question, but they also make structuring moves - i.e. they sometimes take the teacher's usual role. Contrary to Dahllöf and Lundgren, there is no information in this study about the participants' ability, (as measured from some intelligence test) apart from assessment ratings. These ratings show that in the active groups there is a mixture of individuals who have got both very good and average assessments in the subject. There are a number of explanations for this finding - one being the problem of restriction of range. However, it cannot be stated that our 15 - 30 per cent groups consist solely of participants who have an ability corresponding to the 15 - 30th percentile. But it should be emphasised that the results show that in each class there is a group (around 15 - 30 per cent of the participants) who hold a key position - especially if the teacher wants to change the pace of instruction. As a teacher, it is always necessary to check with this pace group by directing questions to some of the members. Otherwise they will "interfere" by reacting and soliciting moves. There is also a smaller group (around 10 per cent in each class) who even interfere by structuring moves.

If the frames are restricted it is important to note that there is a resultant key group such as has been described i.e. a group which is very dominant in

the teaching process. Turning to the data from the more simple observation system (which also covered a longer period of time) it can be seen from the following table that a similar picture of a dominant group emerges:

Participants' behaviour, register over time via a simple observation technique, exceeding the 90th and 75th percentile. The number of participants is expressed in per cent of participants in each class. Table 6.

		L (Lecturing)		Q (Questioning)		H (Individual help)		S (Spontaneous response)		SR (Response after directed question)		Number of participants
		>Q 90	>Q 75	>Q 90	>Q 75	>Q 90	>Q 75	>Q 90	>Q 75	>Q 90	>Q 75	
Mathematics	Class 1			14	28	10	10	14	28	14	23	
	2	-	-	17	17	17	25	17	25	17	25	12
	3	-	-	11	15	4	15	11	22	11	22	27
	4	-	-	8	25	8	21	13	25	13	13	24
	5	-	-	13	25	-	-	13	19	13	13	16
	6	-	-	9	23	0	18	14	27	14	14	22
	7	-	-	12	25	13	13	13	25	6	25	16
	8	-	-	10	20	10	10	10	30	-	-	10
	9	-	-	12	24	6	29	12	24	12	29	17
Swedish	10	0	0	-	-	-	-	14	29	5	14	21
	11	9	27	18	27	-	-	18	27	18	27	11
	12	13	25	13	25	-	-	13	25	13	25	16
	13	6	25	13	19	-	-	13	25	6	25	16
	14	-	-	7	21	-	-	14	29	7	29	14
	15	0	18	12	29	-	-	12	29	12	29	17
	16	Not presented - because the school administration changed the composition of the class during the observation period.										
	17	16	16	16	25	-	-	16	25	16	25	12
	18	10	26	10	26	10	10	10	21	5	16	19

There is a group of around 15 - 20 per cent of the participants in each class in each of the categories, all of which exceed the 75th percentile of all contributions in the category in question. Some differences between the subjects can also be discerned. In the mathematics classes there are seldom any participants who do any lecturing, a behaviour that is more frequent in Swedish. The lack of lecturing in mathematics in terms of figures (while finding structuring

moves in the Bellack analyses) probably only indicates that the observation technique used was not as sensitive as the analyses from tape-recorded, transcribed lessons. Individual help is very unusual in Swedish compared with mathematics where this type of activity is more frequent. The activities in the mathematic classes are also more dominated by individual activity which we have showed earlier (p 128). The participants exceeding the 90th percentile consist of around 5 - 15 of all individuals in each class.

In combining the different type of behaviour categories Q + S, Q + S + SR, Q + S + SR + L and checking how many individuals who appear above the 75th percentile in each respective class for the different combinations the following tables were compiled.

Participants' behaviour, registered over time via a simple observation system (in combination of categories), exceeding the 75th percentile. The number of participants is expressed in per cent of participants in each class. Table 7.

		Q + S >Q 75	Q + S + SR >Q 75	Q + S + SR + L >Q 75
Mathematics	Class 1	14	5	-
	2	16	8	-
	3	11	11	-
	4	13	4	-
	5	0 x)	0	-
	6	5 x)	0	-
	7	13	6	-
	8	20	20	-
	9	18	6	-
Swedish	10	14	14	14
	11	18	13	18
	12	19	13	13
	13	6 x)	6	6
	14	21	7	-
	15	24	11	11
	16	Not presented because the school administration changed the composition of the class during the observation period.		
	17	16	0	0
	18	16	0	0

Except for a few classes (marked x), about 10 - 20 per cent of the participants in each of the classes provide all the questioning and spontaneous responses in the classes. The group diminishes if answers to directed questions (SR) are included, indicating that there are individuals in the SR-category who make questions or spontaneous replies more seldom than the others in the class. If the lecturing category is included in many of the Swedish classes, there is still an active group consisting of about 5 - 20 per cent of the participants in each class. But these figures in many cases reflect different teacher behaviours - something also noticed in the Bellack analyses in mathematics. This means that the critical numbers for our percentiles are quite different in the different classes.

The conclusion drawn from this is that even if material based on a more simple observation technique is used there is a group of around 10 - 20 per cent of the participants in each class who are so dominating that the teachers have to take acount of them. The differences between mathematics and Swedish are less than expected, considering the structural differences between the subjects. Of course there is a slighly higher activity in some of the categories, but the small difference is, however, less unexpected taking the standpoint that the frames in Swedish are also so restricting that the participant cannot take up too much of the time available. Just as in mathematics there is a pace group and the group becomes more pronounced in the Bellack analyses.

Unfortunately, the findings from our tape-recorded lessons in Swedish cannot be presented here as these analyses are as yet unfinished. But having finished half of the material, it appears that about the same figure emerges as from the mathematic lessons - namely that instruction is dominated by structuring and is related to a pace group. The fact that the material is so similar has, however, to do in part with that the teachers in Swedish only permitted tape recordings when they went through grammatical items. However the fact that these teachers used the same idea with a pace group strengthens the view that the teachers in Swedish must also use that technique when the frames are found to restrict "the inner life of" the subject.

General activity in relation to some findings from youth education

An interesting question is raised in trying to see if the general activity in the classes is specific to the adults in the study and, that being the case, if it is possible to explain why this occurs. The following table compares the results of this present study with four other studies from youth education. Rubenson is preparing a special report where he discusses adult education in relation to youth education (Rubenson in progress).

Bellack moves in per cent, different educational levels Table 8.

	Youth education				Municipal adult education
	Secondary school		Compulsory school		
	Bellack et al (1966) civics	Lundgren (1972) Math.	Kilborn (1975) Math.	Gustafsson (1977) Math.	Höghielm & Rubenson (1979) Math.
STR	6	11	12	11	32
SOL	34	29	35	35	24
RES	29	27	25	23	15
REA	31	33	27	27	30
ISO	-	-	2	3	0
	100	100	100	100	100

(All figures in per cent)

What is most striking is the great similarity between the different findings from youth education. The present article is no place to discuss differences between youth education and adult education in detail but it is clear that the structuring moves are very dominant in our study in comparison with the others. This activity refers mainly to lecture behaviour from the actors. It is an activity which also concurs with our earlier findings from the extensive study indicating (table 1) a high amount of lecturing. The soliciting activity is, however, slightly lower in the present study, which means that the teachers put slightly fewer questions to the participants compared with their colleagues in youth education. This is also reflected in a lower rate of responses from the participants - only 15 per cent. The general level of reaction seems to be about the same, but the situation changes if when differentiating between teacher activity and participants' activity.

Moves in per cent divided on teachers (T) and participants (P), different educational levels Table 9.

		STR	SOL	RES	REA	ISO	Number of moves	Total
Bellack et al (1966)	T	8	46	6	40	1	9565	15457
	P	2	11	65	15	6	5910	
Lundgren (1972)	T	16	41	5	34	0[x)]	7051	11387
	P	1	10	61	28	0	4336	
Kilborn (1975)	T	18	43	6	33	0	3295	5098
	P	0	20	60	15	5	1803	
Gustafsson (1977)	T	17	45	7	29	0	4496	7577
	P	1	21	46	26	6	3081	
Höghielm Rubenson (1979)	T	42	28	3	27	0	4724	7440
	P	14	16	36	34	1	2716	

x) Lundgren also has a HEP category (4 %) indicating individual help.

In youth education, the situation is still rather similar, even if there is a tendency that the findings from the secondary school are more homogeneous and the same is true of the results from the compulsory school. The most obvious discrepancy will be noticed in the structuring moves in Bellack's study, where the interpretation presented here would be that the divergent result depends on the structure of the subject (in Bellack's case, civics). In the komvux study, it is, however, even more clear that the teachers have a lower rate of soliciting (28 %), while the participants have a correspondingly lower rate of responding (36 %) than is reflected by the results presented from youth education. Komvux participants also have a relatively high amount of reaction moves (34 %) - which in combination with a high amount of structuring moves (14 %) indicates a somewhat different way of acting compared with the other four research studies. It can perhaps be interpreted as an embryo for making it easier to change the conditions for instruction. There is a readiness for the participants to interfere more in the teaching process, but one main problem in facilitating this is to change tha frames under which tutors and participants work.

The results from the Bellack analyses indicated that teachers are very eager to cover as much as possible of the syllabus, and in doing so, they have to rely

on mainly structuring moves. They are also restrictive in soliciting moves. In such a situation the pace group becomes more and more necessary to the teacher. It is necessary to check your structuring with some of the participants. But the teacher in komvux cannot choose in the same way as a teacher in the youth education can, as there are a certain number of active participants (of varying abilities), which restricts the teachers' manoeuvres.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Starting with a theoretical standpoint stressing the importance of how different frame systems govern, constrain and regulate the educational situation and influence the shape of the teaching process, the report has entered into a rather complex discussion. Psychological factors were also considered as regards the way in which they operate with this system. Society's norms and values must be reflected in the educational process, which means that adult education cannot be treated as a special phenomenon insulated from the surrounding society. This does not mean that the educational situation or a school system is simply a mirror of society. The sociology of the school itself cannot be neglected - something which for instance has been recently pointed out by Rutter, et al. (1979). What can be said is that a school (or school system) can create a normative system which differs from that of the surrounding society. A good example is Sweden's study circle organizations which, especially in their formative stages, often had a different value system from that of society. Nowadays this discrepancy has vanished, meaning that society has accepted and integrated these norms (and vice versa). An example of this is also reflected by the objectives of adult education (see p 123), which are very similiar to those of the old study circle activities. The problem is, however, that these objectives are difficult to implement in municipal adult education.

The empirical study presented here was planned to charch the operation of the teaching process in Swedish municipal adult education. The study consisted of an intensive part, involving 9 classes in Swedish and 9 in mathematics. Classroom observations (240 lessons), tape-recordings (30 lessons), questionnaires and interviews were used with both participants and teachers. The extensive part of the study dealt with more general questions, such as the objectives of adult education and the provision and content of local training programs for instructors.

The main findings were presented, starting with an explanation of how the objectives of adult education operate. The results indicated that teachers in municipal adult education very seldom organize lessons in a way that makes it possible for the participants to actively participate in and take responsibility for the instruction process. After that section, results from the tape-recorded lessons were presented, illustrating how different types of 'tricks' are used by the teachers (e.g. the technique of piloting) to get round the problem of restrictive curricular frames, how the group is organized and a certain number of lessons for the instructor.

By analysing the activity in the classroom via a simple observation technique which indicates who is speaking and in which order "the actors" in the classroom speak, a picture emerged indicating a very specific activity pattern in all the observed classes. The behaviour of both teachers and participants was quite stable over time (a one year period, with observations made at certain times).

When trying to answer why such a pattern exists, it becomes necessary to consider the group setting the 'pace' as well as the forms of communication in each class. This group is important when operating under restrictive frames, e.g. time and an "overcrowded" curriculum. By doing a Bellack analysis of the tape-recorded material a group, here referred to as the pace group, emerged in each class. The results also showed that in each class the pace group consisted of around 10 - 30 per cent of the participants. The teachers must always consult or address themselves to these groups, otherwise these participants will direct themselves to the teachers. A similar picture of a dominant group emerged when analysing the materials collected via the observation technique. Finally, a summary of the Bellack analyses was made indicating very clearly that the teachers in the intensive study produced facts to a greater extent and put less questions to the participants in comparison with pupils in youth education. At the same time, however, the participants tend to make more comments i.e. they think aloud more than the youngsters, something which can be an encouraging sign, if the system itself can be changed.

The article ends with a discussion pointing out that the teachers' actions as reflected in both the intensive and the extensive study were not examples of bad instruction, but rather the results of a framing system being too "tight". The fact that lessons are so dominated by the production of facts is also a sign

that society's merit system does not include objectives such as increasing the individual's critical understanding and active participation in cultural, social and political life. It can also be considered as a normative inconsistency within society. The objectives, being very similar to old educational ideals within popular education in Sweden (from the beginning of this century), cannot operate in a system that is too rigid and adapted to a different reality in society. This reality still promotes the ideal of looking for qualifications which are easily quantified - which means that both participants and teachers choose ("to be sure") the quantitative part just in case. The strategy therefore, is not to discuss how to give more opportunities for the teachers to enter retraining programs if bad instruction is detected. Rather, the more efficient solution is to ease the pressure from the frames. This must be a dynamic process, because society is in a constant process of change, which means that even if there is a framing system, there must be an awareness that this system also changes over time.

The data can be looked at from another standpoint: what is being recreated in the teaching situation? Obviously the participants are caught in a "benefit perspective", meaning that they have a certain idea of what knowledge is desirable and that it is important to get hold of as many of these "hard facts" as possible. They actively "socialize" the teacher to become "a living book" who must produce facts. If the frames are too restrictive the participants use their adult position to change the teachers to behave like that. However, the point here is, that society constitutes the framing system which indirectly reflects the merit system of the same society. There also seems to be no situation where the teachers try to shape the participants into some other pattern of activity - for instance participation in T-groups, something which for instance Cross (1976) claims in fact seems to actively improve students' self-concept. It cannot be said, however, that participants sit passively and accept what the teachers do. But it is probably somewhat surprising that the participants use their "adult power" to let the teachers behave in a way where it is almost impossible to take into consideration all of the participants' experiences. The general solution does not seem to lie in sending the instructors to retraining courses but must be sought in discovering, for instance, how participants perceive knowledge and how society's conception of knowledge is reflected in its different merit systems. Thus a change of frames can only take place in accordence with a change of the merit system of the society.

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Appendix 1. ADULT EDUCATION IN SWEDEN[1)]

FINANCING OF ADULT EDUCATION

Except for study circles, the types of adult education described below are in principle entirely free of charge, although in practice there may be some expenses for study materials. The tuition fees paid by participants in study circles are quite low.

Adult education accounts for a rapidly growing share of the government budget. More than one-tenth of the national outlays for education goes to the various kinds of adult education that are described here. On top on that, an equal amount is spent on advancing allowances to students enrolled in labor market training, which is entirely government-financed.

Local authority expenditures on adult education have also increased rapidly. Municipal governments pay about one-third of the costs of municipal adult schools an about the same proportion of the costs of study circles.

National, municipal and county governments together employ more than one-fourth of Sweden's working population. Their staff training programs are extensive and are aimed at all categories of employees. Thus, through direct payments, subsidy systems and financial assistance to students, the national, county and local governments pay the lion's share of adult education costs in Sweden. Other contributors to these costs include the popular movements, political and non-profit organizations, trade unions and private companies.

As of 1976, employers began paying a special payroll levy for adult education. This money is used, among other things, to implement the allocation policy.

Hourly and daily study grants provide compensation for loss of income. Studies which must be pursued for longer uninterrupted periods qualify for a special adult study allowance which is mainly intended for persons of low previous educational attainments.

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1) The presentation is largely based on information material from The Swedish Institute and is not a critical analysis of the Swedish system of adult education.

The payroll levy also finances study circles in "high-priority subjects", i.e., Swedish, English, mathematics and social science, as well as outreach programs at workplaces and in residential areas. These funds are distributed by special regional adult education councils.

Outreach programs are aimed primarily at establishing contact with and at recruiting people having less than nine years of primary schooling. The outreach programs at workplaces are administered by local branches of trade unions and outreach programs in residential areas are handled by the voluntary educational associations. In the latter case, priority is given to establishing contact with immigrants, the handicapped, housewives and others working in the home.

Further, all employees enjoy an unconditional right to take leaves of absence for studies that must be pursued during working hours. Although the leave to which they are entitled under law is unpaid, certain grants are available through the hourly and daily study grants and special study allowances described above. At present (1980) the government finances 25,000 full-time study allowances.

FORMS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN SWEDEN
Residential Adult Colleges,
"Folk High Schools"

A specifically Scandinavian form of adult education is the folk high school, a type of boarding school. The folk high school is not the form of adult education with the greatest number of participants, but it is the oldest one. The first folk high schools were founded in the mid-19th centuray to give young rural better opportunities for general education.

Today there exist 110 folk high schools, which are owned either by county and local councils or by trade unions, churches, temperance societies or other non-profit organizations. Each school determines its own curriculum within the framework of the folk high school philosophy. There is no official syllabus or compulsory subject matter for folk high schools. Studies focus on topic areas

rather than on single subjects. A significant feature of these schools is the high degree of student participation in educational planning and implementation.

The folk high schools have made an effort to improve their study facilities for handicapped persons. More and more schools have been adapted to accommodate physically handicapped persons, the assistance given to the blind and deaf is increasing and about 20 schools work with mentally retarded persons, who are to be integrated into the ordinary school activities as far as possible.

In the course of the school year 1978/79, 150,000 persons participated in folk high school courses in Sweden. More than three-fourths of these people participated in courses of one week or less. About 15,000 persons participated in the so-called long-term folk high school courses with a length of 30 weeks or longer. It is the students participating in these long courses that form the backbone of the folk high schools and their work. Usually it is this group of people one thinks of when talking about folk high schools in general.

The short courses are, as a rule, arranged in collaboration with organizations, institutions and authorities. Experts from the cooperating organization take over the teaching during such short courses and are paid by the school with money set aside for these purposes. But it is always the school that is resonible to the government for the planning and accomplishment of such short courses.

The teachers employed at the school for the long-term courses are to take more than 24 per cent of all teaching during the short courses.

Voluntary Educational Associations

By far the largest number of today's adult learners attend the study circles organized by the local branches of Sweden's educational associations. In the fiscal year 1978-79, study circles attracted about 3 million participants, of whom slightly over half were women. That figure should be put in relation to Sweden's total population of about eight million and its adult population (aged 20-67) of about five million. But since any one participant may take

part in more than one study circle, no net figure can be given. These study circles are sponsored by ten voluntary educational associations, of which the largest, ABF (the Worker's Educational Association), accounts for just over one-third of the total study circle hours qualifying for national government subsidies.

In the regulations for awarding government subsidies to voluntary educational associations, a study circle is defined as "an informal group which meets for the common pursuit of well-planned studies of a subject or problem area which as previously been decided upon". The idea - even if this sometimes is difficult to carry of - is that the group itself determines how its work is to be planned and carried out. A circle leader has certain coordinating and administrative tasks but does not act as a teacher in the ordinary sense. There are no formal requirements for circle leaders.

To be eligible for subsidy, a study circle must have between five and twenty members. It must for at least twenty class-hours spread over at least four weeks. Each meeting may last no more than three class-hours. The subsidy, fixed at a certain amount per class-hour, covers slightly more than 45 per cent of the costs, with the remainder coming from fees and municipal grants. Study-circle activity is supplemented by programs of public lectures, which also receive government subsidies.

Two subject areas account for two-thirds of the study circle hours: aesthetic subjects and civics. Study circles in Swedish, English, mathematics and social science at a level corresponding to grades 7 - 9 of compulsory comprehensive school (sometimes lower) have been given higher priority through a system of extra State subsidies[1]. Priority is also given to union and immigrant circles as well as to study circles for the handicapped. More than a third of all study circles fall into these high-priority categories. For many of those attending high-priority circles, their studies are the first phase of a recurrent educational process of varying length.

1) The Commission on Popular Adult Education (SOU 1979:85) has suggested that the financing system should be changed so that priority is given to selected groups - not selected programs. The Riksdag will deal with the report in the autumn of 1980.

There are also study circles at university level. So far the number of participants in such circles has been about 9 per cent of the total. A person who has completed an approved-curriculum study circle at university level may take a special examination at a university and earn credit points there.

Immigrant education has grown rapidly in volume and has come to bulk ever larger in the total course offerings at the educational associations.

Study circles are politically valuable, as a conduit between the government and the population. For example, recent circle discussions were held on whether or not Sweden should use nuclear energy as a future power source - promted, incidentally, by the government. Swedish leaders have received highly accurate readings of current popular thinking on this volatile question.

During the last years the study circle has come to be used as an instrument by groups in order to find solutions to serious problems confronting the group. For example in villages threatened by loss of job opportunities people have started circles to investigate the possibilities for alternative production.

The educational associations have likewise made a great effort to provide study possibilities for the mentally retarded and those with serious physical handicaps. The government has provided special money for research and development in order to facilitate participation for these groups.

Municipal Adult Schools

The municipal adult schools are operated by the school boards of each local authority. They offer instruction in accordance with the uniform national curricula for the lower secondary school level (grades 7 - 9) and for the various study lines and courses in upper secondary (2 - 4 years beginning with grade 10). However, compared with the education of youth, the normal time schedules for adults imply a reduction of between 30 and 70 per cent.

A system of special vocational training operates alongside the education that follows the curricula for the compulsory comprehensive and upper secondary

schools.

Most courses are offered in the evening. However, eligibility for leave of absence as from 1975 and for special adult study allowance as from 1976 has increased the proportion of daytime students. The student takes one, two or more subjects as a time; most students study part-time, but many daytime students go full-time.

The increased possibilities for financial aid to study during daytime might have led to a decrease in dropout rates for municipal adult education. A study of evening courses in Stockholm, 1973 (constituting 37 per cent of all participants in Sweden) reported that just over 30 per cent completed the whole program (Borgström et al, 1979). A follow-up study af day courses showed that as many as 65 per cent completed the courses (Rubenson, 1980a).

The purpose of full-time or part-time studies is often to acquire the actual skills and satisfy the formal prerequisites that will qualify a person for further studies at higher levels or to meet the requirements of a certain profession.

In recent years the municipal adult schools have increased their enrollments to about 310,000 students per year. Over 40 per cent take general courses at upper secondary level, while just under 30 per cent each take lower secondary school courses and vocational courses under the upper secondary school's curricula. The trend has been toward larger numbers in general courses and some decline in the numbers studying vocational subjects. This trend, though, is slowly changing. The thrust and design of the vocational courses are the subject of development projects launched both by the National Board of Education and through local initiatives.

A parliamentary decision in 1977 has given municipal adult education new tasks to perform on behalf of adults with no previous or deficient earlier schooling. The so-called basic education of adults is meant to give all grown-ups, whether they be Swedes or immigrants, a minimum standard of knowledge and skills so that they can practice a trade and take part in the society's other activities.

English, mathematics, Swedish and German are the most popular subjects at com-

pulsory comprehensive school levels and in the general upper secondary school courses. Among vocational training programs, the dominant subjects are industry and handicrafts, home technology, and commercial and office subjects.

The teachers in municipal adult schools have the same training as those who teach the same subjects in upper secondary schools. Since 1975, it has been possible to create special teaching positions within the municipal adult schools. But most teachers are connected to secondary school or upper-level compulsory comprehensive and teach only part-time within the adult school. The Stockholm Institute of Education offers a special program for those wishing to teach in municipal adult schools. The admission requirements are the same as for applicants to the secondary-teaching credential programs, i.e., the equivalent of a fil.kand. (roughly, Bachelor of Arts) degree.

All students at municipal adult schools have access to educational counseling if needed. Extra tutoring and financial aid is also provided. Study assistance grants were improved considerably by an Act of Parliament in 1975. Part-time grants in particular (hourly and daily study assistance) have increased.

Certain local authorities also arrange child-care services for their adult students.

For organizational purposes and depending on scope, municipal adult education is linked either to a compulsory comprehensive or upper secondary school or forms a separate unit for such education.

State subsidies to the municipal school systems for adult education cover the entire cost of employing a principal, a director of studies, a "SYO functionary" (i.e., a person who is in charge of educational and vocational guidance) and the teachers, plus part of the cost of information and outreach programs. Instruction is free of charge but students may often be required to pay for their own study materials.

State Schools For Adults

Study programs equivalent to the municipal adult schools are available at two adult schools (at Norrköping and Härnösand) directly administered by central government. These schools are intended for students who do not have access to adult education in their home towns and people who cannot attend regular day or evening courses. The courses take place either entirely on a correspondence basis or by correspondence combined each term with relatively short and intensive in-school courses.

Labor Market Training

The system of labor market training originated in the need to act swiftly against imbalances in the labor market, both by helping under- and unemployed workers to improve their employability in occupations with better opportunities and by increasing the supply of skills in industries where a shortage of suitably trained personnel tends to exacerbate inflationary pressures. The labor market training system has now a running capacity of more than 1 per cent of the total labor force. With courses lasting for an average length of 4 - 5 months, more than 3 per cent of the labor force can be reached in the space of one year.

The main provisions of this scheme are as follows. Persons unemployed or with precarious employment conditions (threatened by unemployment due to working in declining sectors or troubled by personal difficulties) as well as those who are willing to leave their employment (or take educational leave of absence) in order to take training for skills in short supply, can attend training courses arranged by the labor market authorities in cooperation with the school authorities or with employers. Courses are free of charge and trainees receive subsistence allowances. The pay to trainees exceeds the unemployment benefits per day, amounting to some 80 per cent of ordinary wage income after taxes.

The courses vary in length and level of qualification from a few weeks for introductory courses, designed to accustom participants to working situations outside their experience, up to two-year courses for skilled workers and

technicians, partly at academic levels. In recent years, half of the participants have been women. One of the important functions of this activity is to pave the way for female entry into the labor market.

Most of the training is carried out at permanent or temporary and often improvised training centers, administered (jointly but with a great amount of delegation to their county subsidiaries) by the Labor Market Board and the National Board of Education or by arrangement with vocational schools, which are now integrated with the system of upper secondary education. In the fiscal year 1978-79, 78,000 people participated in this kind of training.

The Labor Market Board can, when the employment situation so warrants, pay temporary training grants to private firms and municipalities so as to compensate for introductory training costs. Similar subsidies can also be given to employers hiring handicapped or older workers, and to municipalities organizing sheltered employment. Employers who let women try male occupations (or vice versa) can get a special grant per hour. In regions with a limited demand for labor employers can get training grants for new hires. A subsidy is also available to employers who arrange training of old or new employees in connection with a net increase in their work-forces. For cyclical and other reasons, it can sometimes be advisable to support the in-plant training activities of business enterprise. Firms abstaining from laying off workers during a slack period and giving them training instead can get a special subsidy per hour and trainee up to a maximum of 960 hours. This part of in-plant training expanded rapidly during the past recession, when the number of participants in 1976-77 rose to more than 100.000 compared with roughly 10.000 in the previous year. In 1978-79, when the economy had started to pick up, it was down to 50.000.

Training is used not only to improve the level and amount of industrial skills among workers but to spur "investment in human capital", the aim being to offset cyclical and seasonal variations in employment by countercyclical variations in its volume.

Solution of the administrative problems conncted with this policy for "rapid action" against employment variations demands a considerable freedom of decision-making by local employment offices in cooperation with municipal and school authorities, trade unions and employers. It also entails a centrally

organized provision of educational material (equipment, books, teacher training) and the upholding of reserve capacity in permanent or temporary training centers during high-employment periods, so that courses can rapidly increase their intake as soon as the employment situation in an area begins to deteriorate.

The primary objective of labor market training is to ensure steady jobs for the unemployed. Regular follow-up studies show that of those who have taken vocational courses and who then enter the labor market, some 85 per cent have obtained jobs within three months of course completion. Approximately 85 per cent of these people have, in turn, obtained work within the occupation branch for which they were trained.

A substantial proportion of those enrolled in labor market training have no other educational attainments than six to eight years of elementary schooling. To give these groups a wider range of choice on the labor market is a major redistributive goal of manpower training.

Higher Education

"Regular" higher education has usually not been considered as a part of adult education. However, the Swedish reform in higher education (1977) obscures this distinction. The reform could be seen as an attempt to evolve a coherent approach to opening post-secondary education to adults. A cornerstone here has been to accord increased value to work experience as a ground for admission to higher education.

The Swedish admission system makes a fundamental distinction between general qualifications (eligibility) and special requirements. The new admissions scheme defines four main ways of obtaining general eligibility for higher education. They are:

(1) to have completed a three-year stream of upper secondary school;

(2) to have completed a two-year stream of upper secondary school;

(3) to have equivalent education from a "folk high school";

(4) to have more than 4 years of work experience and to be over 25 years old (the 25:4 qualification).

In these admission rules, work experience is given a wide interpretation; any kind of work experience including child care and military service can be included in the 4 years required for the 25:4 qualification. However, the special requirements often mean that the equivalent of upper secondary school knowledge in certain subjects is required in addition to the general requirements (which also include knowledge of Swedish and English).

Work experience also has a second function as an additional selection criterion to restricted programs. Previous to the 1977 reform, selection had been entirely based on school results. In selection to full degree programs, the applications are placed in so-called quota groups corresponding to the four grounds for general eligibility. Each group is allotted places in proportion to the number of applicants in the group.

Applicants in all categories can add credit points for work experience to their school marks. The broad definition of work experience which is used for general eligibility is also used for selection to restricted programmes. Applicants must have at least 15 months of work experience (in addition to the four years included in the general entrance requirements for 25:4 students).

Staff Training in The Public and Private Sectors

Some government authorities train their own employees. In certain agencies, for example the Customs Service, the Post Office and the Labor Market Board, a complete vocational training course is provided. More advanced training in the form of short and long courses is available within most government agencies.

The county councils and larger municipal governments have extensive staff training programs. Nursing staff in county hospitals and other county-operated health care institutions receive vocational training. Advanced courses are also available. The Swedish Association of Local Authorities and the Federation of County Councils each have training departments which sponsor courses for various staff categories and for elected municipal and county officials.

Most large private companies have training departments which carry out educational planning and sponsor courses. Employees of small and medium-sized firms are eligible for training courses sponsored by the various employer federations and their affiliated trade associations. A number of joint employer-employee bodies also sponsor training to meet the needs of working life, among these are courses for shop stewards.

As a rule, the employer pays the cost of staff training and the participants pay no fee. Staff training programs within local governments and private companies are not generally eligible for national government subsidies. An exception is on-the-job training of an elementary vocational nature sponsored by an employer in collaboration with the local upper secondary school, referred to as "intramural company schools".

Training Programs Sponsored by Employee Organizations

Sweden's two largest employee organizations, the Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) and the Central Organization of Salaried Employees (TCO), have extensive study programs of their own. They are designed to give union members a solid background in union affairs and other social matters. They also supply trained union officials at local, regional and national levels. Most courses are residential and last one or two weeks, but some last up to six months. The national government provides subsidies for these programs.

A vital task for the trade unions as well as for the organized employers is to give all employees information and training on the various labor-law statutes that have been enacted in recent years. The most important of these from the educational aspect is the Co-determination Act, which came into force on January 1, 1977. So far all public employees have been assured of at least two days of information about this law on the strength of special contracts. But knowledge must also be spread about the Security of Employment Act and the Shop Stewards Act.

Radio, Television and Correspondence Schools

Educational programs on radio and television are produced by a special corporation which operates on government funds. The programs are aimed at the regular schools as well as at adult students and undergraduates in higher education. Broadcast programs are usually supplemented with printed study material. The broadcasting media collaborate with various sponsors af adult education.

Two correspondence schools, Hermods and Brevskolan, dominate this educational medium. Hermods designs courses chiefly aimed at helping people fulfill the formal requirements for completion of courses at primary, secondary and university levels. Brevskolan mainly caters for the needs of various special-interest organizations.

In recent years the traditional type of correspondence course has been increasingly combined with other forms of instruction, especially study circles and educational broadcasts. This type of combined course generally leads to more effective learning than pure correspondence courses.

Public Libraries and Teaching-Aid Centers

Public libraries and the audio-visual or teaching-aid centers operated by local authorities play a vital role in the work of both the educational associations and the municipal adult schools. The public libraries lend books, magnetic tapes and film strips to study circles and private persons. Teaching-aid centers tape educational broadcasts and lend copies of them. The libraries arrange exhibitions, lectures, concerts and so on, which often serve as adjuncts to study circles and courses.

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